THE

SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY OF THE WORLD Connected;

FROM THE

CREATION OF THE WORLD

TO THE

DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE,

At the Death of Sardanapalus;

AND TO THE

DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL,

UNDER THE REIGNS OF AHAZ AND PEKAH.

INCLUDING

THE DISSERTATION ON

THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES—VOL. IV.

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INTRODUCTION, &c.

SECTION I.

The Mosaic Account of the Creation is to be literally understood.—Origin of Mythology, &c.

THE ensuing treatise is called a Supplement to the Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected; because the subject matter of it ought, and was intended, to have been treated before; but was deferred, as I wished to see what others, who were writing after me,[a] would suggest upon a subject so

[a] The writers of The Universal History soon after began to publish their work; and, after their account of the creation, gave us, as I hoped they would, what they could collect of the fall of man. See preface to vol. i.

variously thought of by divers able and valuable writers; rather than too hastily offer to the public, sentiments upon it, of which I had a just diffidence, as many of them seemed to be more peculiarly my own.

A supposed impossibility of reconciling a literal interpretation of Moses' account of the fall of man, with any reasonable notions of God, and with what must, in truth, be his dispensations towards us,[b] is, I believe, what has introduced the notion of explaining some parts at least of his narration into apologue and fable. The shadow of allegory seems to give us some appearance of knowing, what we do not plainly understand; and an unexamined hearsay of eastern sages, their mythology and literature, amuses with a colour of being very learned, whilst, perhaps, we really mistake the rise and design of that very literature to which we have recourse, by endeavouring to resolve into it the narration of Moses, which

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[b] See Middleton's Allegorical and Literal Interpretation.

most evidently sets before us particulars absolutely incapable of admitting any allegorical interpretation whatsoever.

That the great point of which Moses informs us, is of this sort; absolutely incompatible with allegory, is, I think, evident beyond contradiction. I hope the ensuing pages will clearly shew, concerning every part of what he has related upon the subject, that, taken literally as he has recorded it, the whole very pertinently agrees with the great design of all subsequent scripture; and must shew us, that, in all that happened to our first parents, nothing befel them, improper for their being ensamples unto us;[c] and that the account we have of them, so far from being mythic or unintelligible, is most plainly written for our admonition; that we may indeed learn from it, in what manner and measure, from the beginning it was, as it still is, the one thing needful for man, truly and indeed to obey God. *All scripture is given by inspiration of God; and*

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[c] 1 Cor. x. 11.

is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.[d] If, in explaining Moses' narration of the fall literally, we can shew it to bear evidently all these characters of holy writ; as I trust from what is to follow will be seen, we shew what must be of more real weight for a literal interpretation, than all that is otherwise suggested against it.

But, though what I have here intimated, and have further evinced in the ensuing treatise, will make it evident, that Moses did not here write *apologue* and *fables*; whether what I am going to suggest be certain fact or not, yet it may not be disagreeable to the reader to remark, that the relating mythologically physical or moral truths, concerning the origin and nature of things, was not, perhaps, as modern writers too hastily imagine, the customary practice in the age of Moses; but rather began after his

[d] 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

[illegible] esquer [illegible] and [illegible]

Hist.

[illegible] estimation [illegible] may possibly shew [illegible] e of it may not be alloyed [illegible] tal in the country before us [illegible] the east country, and the [illegible] high esteem in the [illegible] Salamon [illegible] it is observed at the [illegible] the nation of Egypt stood [illegible] well as [illegible] now [illegible] eastern [illegible] from [illegible] as far as I can find, [illegible] Mythology [illegible] where [illegible] in [illegible] nomination. [illegible] priests [illegible] of [illegible] were [illegible] and [illegible] in-

troduced it.[f] Sanchoniatho flourished about A. M. 2760:[g] Moses died A. M.

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[f] When Sanchoniatho made his enquiries, we are told that οἱ μὲν νεωτατοι των ἱερολογων τα μὲν γεγονοτα πραγματα ἐξ αρχῆς ἀπεπεμψαιλο ἀλληγορίας καὶ μυθους ἐπινοησαιλις, καὶ τοις κοσμικοις παθημασι συγγενειαν πλασαμενοι μυστηρια κατεστησαν, καὶ πολυν αυτοις ἐπῆγον τῦφον, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως τινα συνορειν τὰ καθ' αληθειαν γινόμενα. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9.

[g] Sanchoniatho flourished προ τῶν τρωικῶν χρόνων, καὶ σχεδὸν τοις Μωσέως. Euseb. ibid. Troy was taken, according to Usher, A. M. 2820: according to the Arundle Marble, 2796. Agreeably hereto, Sanchoniatho is said to have conversed with Jerombaal, priest of the god *Jevo*, in or near Phœnicia: the country of the Jews was often taken as part of Phœnicia. The four letters of the word Jehovah may easily be so pointed as to be pronounced *Jehvoh*. Gideon, who was called Jerubbaal, Judges v. 32, was a prophet, a ruler, a great deliverer of his people under the especial direction of this God, whose name was Jehovah, יהוה, Judges vi. vii. viii. With the heathens, and in the most ancient times, the ruler was also priest unto his people; see Connect. vol. ii. b. vi.; so that they might naturally deem Jerubbaal a priest of the God Ἰευω, Jevoh, as they pronounced it, from his having been appointed by Jehovah to rule and govern his people. Mr. Dodwell indeed wrote a treatise to prove that Sanchoniatho was not so ancient: but I cannot apprehend that his endeavours

2553:[h] in the interval of these 217 years, we have reason to suppose the rise of mythology.

It is remarkable, that in this interval the correction of the year was made in Egypt, when Aseth was king there.[i] Aseth, or Assis, was the sixth pastor king, the second after Apophis, who perished at the exit of the Israelites in the Red Sea, A. M. 2513.[k] Assis began to reign at the end of 50 years after the death of Apophis,[l] *i. e.* A. M.

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are at all conclusive. Take Jerombaal to be Gideon, to have ended his war against Midian about A. M. 2760, (see Usher's Annals,) about that time Sanchoniatho might have access to him.

[h] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii.

[i] Αἰγυπτίων βασίλευσιν Ἀσὴθ——τῷ δὲ Κόσμῳ [ἔτει] γψις· ὃν τῷ προσέθηκε τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τὰς ἑ ἐπαγομένας· καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, ὡς φασιν, ἐχρηματισεν τξέ ἡμερῶν Αἰγυπτιακὸς ἐνιαυτὸς, τξ' μόνων πρὸ τούτου μετρούμενος. Syncellus, p. 123. According to Syncellus, Aseth lived about A. M. 2716. According to Sir John Marsham, we must place him in 2665. But from the years of the Egyptian kings, as I deduce them, his times are from 2563 to 2603.

[k] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xi.

[l] Ibid.

2563.[m] The correction of the year was not until after the beginning of his reign; in what time of it, we are not told; he reigned forty years;[n] we may well place it towards his death,[o] perhaps about A. M. 2600,[p] which is about 47 years after the death of Moses;[q] and 22 years after the death of Joshua.[r]

The fable which is handed down to us, with the account of their correction of the year, very significantly points out that their mythology took its rise from this incident. They now found out, that there were five days in the year more than they had thought of;[s] and they mythologized, that five gods

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[m] The reign of Janias, the intermediate king between Apophis and Assis or Aseth, brings us to begin the reign of Assis at this year. [n] Ibid.

[o] Connect. vol. ii. b. viii.

[p] Assis died 2603, vide quæ sup.

[q] Moses died 2553.

[r] Joshua died A. M. 2578. Connect. vol. iii. b. xii.

[s] The Egyptian year was now first computed to be 365 days, being reckoned 360 only before. Syncellus ubi sup. Connect. Pref. to vol. i.

were now born, Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephe.[t] They could not mean that these personages now first began to be; for they had been, ages before, mighty and renowned princes in their country; but they now first ascribed to them a rule and influence over all sublunary things, by supposing each to be the governing power in some star, thought to be animated by them. The dog-star was reputed the orb of Isis;[u] to the others were allotted, in like manner, their respective spheres;[x] and the philosophy of the Egyptians, at this time, seems to have been exerted in such a lustration of their year,

——— ἀστεριῶντα κὰς αὐτοῦ
Ἄρτεμις ——— ARATUS.

as to assign ruling influences of the stars over the several parts of it; and to suppose their ruling stars were animated by those

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[t] Connect. vol. ii. b. viii.

[u] Upon the pillar of Isis was inscribed, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἄρτεμι τῷ Κυνὶ ἐπιτίλλουσα. Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

[x] Connect. vol. ii. b. viii.

who had been the early founders and supporters of their cities and states. What their former theories had been, shall be mentioned presently. What I would here hint is, that they now fell into a way of thinking, which the Roman poet took up afterwards, to make his court to Germanicus Cæsar,

> Cæsaris Arma canant alii, nos Cæsaris Aras,
> Et quoscunque sacris addidit ille dies.
>
> OVID, Fast. lib. 1.

They consecrated, and placed over their times and seasons, the venerable personages of their most ancient ancestors, who had laid the early foundations of all the Egyptian glory and prosperity; and they hoped, that if they with proper rites worshipped gods so auspicious,

> ——— felix totus ut annus eat.
>
> OVID, ubi sup.

that ages of all national happiness might be renewed to them.

What had been the more ancient Egyptian theology, the enquiries of Sanchoniatho declare to us. He having examined their

ancient records, and set aside all the mythology that had been brought in, gave us their true ancient dogmata;[x] and what he has left us, evinces, that their doctrines were, that the origin of things happened from principles of nature effecting, without choice or intelligence, what blindly by a mechanical event of things arose from them.[y] He talks indeed of a *το πνευμα*, what we might think to call a spirit; tells us that it was in love with its own principles;[z] but his spirit was such an one, as a modern author exhibits to us: a spirit, "which, clothed with one set of material organs, is only capable of exerting its intelligence in the performance of attraction or repulsion; and, when jarring elements meet, breaks forth in thunder and lightning, and earthquakes, or any other mechanical operations; but may, when united to a different set

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[x] Ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τερθεισιν ἀπορρήτοις Ἑρμοῦ γραμμασι συθεικμενος, ἃ δὴ ἐκ τῶν πᾶσι γνώριμα, τῶν μαθησιν ἀπαθῶν ἄυτὸς ἦν· καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τῇ πραγματεια, τοῦ παντὸ ἀρχὰς μῦθοι καὶ τὰ ἀλλαγορίας ἐκποδὼν ποιησαμενος, ἐξεθέσατο τῶν τερθεισιν. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9.

[y] Id. ibid. c. 10. [z] ἠρασθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδιων ἀρχῶν. Id. ib.

of organs of a more exquisite and delicate contexture, be capable of exercising voluntary motion, may be enabled to think and to reason, to operate in love or hatred, and, when provoked by opposition, may be agitated with anger and resentment, and break forth in quarrels, contention, and war."[a] The Egyptian *το πνευμα*, which generated all things, was an original, like this author's spirit; unto which, though Sanchoniatho ascribes operating principles, yet he expressly tells us, they were insensate,[b] and sometimes caused jarring elements, and broke forth in lightning and thunders;[c] and what is very wonderful, he also supposed that these unintelligent operating powers produced some animal beings, which being

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[a] Essay on Spirit, p. 24, 25.

[b] ἐγεννετο κάγκρισις ἡ πλοκὴ ἐκεινα ἐκλεθη ΠΟΘΟΣ· ἄυτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κίνησεως ἀπαθὴς· αυτὸ δὲ ὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αυτοῦ κίνησιν. If the reader consult the place, he will see that *αυτὸ* refers to *τὸ πνεῦμα* preceding. Euseb. Præp. Evang. c. 10. in principio.

[c] ἐπειδὴν διεκρίθη, καὶ του ἰδίου τόπου διεχωρισθη διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἥλου πύρωσιν, και πάντα συνηντησε πάλιν ἐν ἀέρι τοῦτ τοις δι καὶ συνέβραξαν, βρονταί τε ἀστεπτίσθησαν και ἀστραπαί. Euseb. ibid.

alive, but having no thought, procreated other beings that had both life and intelligence.[d] These latter productions must be surely conceived, like the spirit of our modern writer above cited, to have kindled into cogitation, by having bodies unaccountably formed to strike out this flame, and without which they could have made no collisions of a finer nature, than what might cause the voice of thunder and the flashes of lightning to be heard and seen from them. Such were the ancient dogmata of Egypt,[e] and it is not so great a wonder they were so, considering the low state of their rudiments of knowledge; but that any writer should think of offering sentiments of this sort in an age of philosophy, so clear and intelligible, as all, who know philosophy, are now versed in, is, I confess, to me most amazing.

But this, as I have said, was, before the

[d] ἔν δὲ τινα ζῶα ὐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶα νοερά. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10.

[e] τοῦθ' εὑρέθη ἐν τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ γεγραμμένα ταῦτα. Id. ibid.

age of Moses, the wisdom of Egypt. *Atheistic, sine Deo,*[f] supposing that the world had been made and governed without a God, by blind and unintelligent principles of nature; their worship and religion was according to it. But Moses, though *learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,*[g] was also better instructed, and taught in opposition to the Egyptian literature, that, *in the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth; and that without him was not any thing made that was made:*[h] And the God, whom Moses had thus declared, had most amazingly exalted his power against all the gods and religion of Egypt, by bringing his people, a

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[f] See Connect. vol. ii. b. ix. It may be thought surprising that it should; but philosophy seems to have begun upon these blind principles in all countries. It appears to have been the old way of the first world, which perished in the flood; see Job xxii. 15, 16, 17. And in later ages, after the deluge, the Greeks, copying after the first rudiments of Egypt, long philosophized, without supposing that any *intelligence* had made or governed the world. Anaxagoras is said to have introduced this principle, πρῶτος τῇ ὕλῃ Νοῦν ἐπιγνοῦν. Laert. in Anaxag.

[g] Acts vii. 22. [h] Gen. i. 1. See hereafter.

nation out of the midst of and from under their subjection to the Egyptians, by such *signs* and *wonders*, by such *a mighty hand* and *stretched out arm;* by such amazing miracles, and entire overthrow of all the strength of Egypt, that if it were asked *of the days that were past, since the day that God created man upon the earth, no such thing as this great thing* had ever been, nor any thing *heard like it.*[i] Egypt was destroyed, greatly diminished and brought low; its king and armies overwhelmed and lost in the Red Sea;[k] six hundred thousand slaves, besides women and children, had left this country, the Egyptians not being able in the least to oppose it; where now, and what, were the gods of Egypt? their elementary powers, or siderçal influences? Was it not too plain to be contradicted, that there was a Power who ruled in the heavens far mightier than they; who disposed of them as he pleased, and was able to do by himself whatsoever he pleased to have done in the

[i] Deut. iv. 32....34. [k] Exod. x. 7. xii. 29, 30.

earth? Should not the Egyptians who remained turn and enquire, and seek after to serve this God? Would not state-policy, which always has, and always will try to work its way, notwithstanding religion, have herein prevented them, and offered it to their consideration, whether, if they took this course, the Israelites might not *come and take away their place and nation?* It seems to have satisfied them better, to correct their year, and reform their own system: and what more likely reform of their religion might they fall into, than now to consider, that unquestionably they had been wrong in supposing that elements governed the course of nature, without a personal agent ruling in them. But, conceiving that the Israelites had their God, they reputed that every nation had its own;[1] and looking back to their most early progenitors, who had been the glory of their times, and under whom had been laid all the foundation of their publick and private happiness; they supposed them,

[1] See Micah iv. 5. 2 Kings xxiii. 33, 34, 35.

after leaving the earth, to have taken their orbs, to govern and influence the things below, in some element, star, or sphere above. The Greeks thus reputed that *Astræa*, after long labouring on earth to do good to mortals, had at last left the world, to give her light from the constellation called *Virgo*.[m] And we find it an ancient apophthegm of the Egyptians, that their most ancient kings, who had prosperously governed them, were divine;[n] and accordingly they now canonized these, and endeavoured to devote and consign themselves to their protection.

That mythology came in upon this alteration of their theology, is obviously evident: for mingling the history of these men

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[m] Ἐπλαθ' ὑπουρανίη, ταύτην δ' ἄρα ναιετο χώρην.
Ἠχι περ ἐννυχίη ἔτι φαινεται ἀνθρωποισι.
Aratus Phœn. ver. 134.

Thus the Egyptian heroes departed: τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς λάμπειν ἄστρα. Vide Plut. de Iside et Osirid.

[n] Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ψάμμονος ἐν Αἰγυπτῳ φιλοσόφου διακουσας μποδέξασθαι μάλιστα τῶν λεχθέντων, ὅτι πάντες ἄνθρωποι βασιλευονται υπο θεου, τὸ γαρ αρχον εν εκάστω καὶ κρατῶν θῶον ἐστιν. Plutarch. in Alexandr.

when mortals, with what came to be ascribed to them when gods, would naturally occasion it. And of this sort we naturally find the *Mythoi* told of them.[o] I will go no further at this time into this topic; although I might much enlarge upon it, by considering how mythology spread from Egypt into Phœnicia, was indeed a little checked by the enquiries of Sanchoniatho; but soon obtained again to be grafted upon his philosophy,[p] infected even the Israelites, when, in their defection from their worship of the true God, they *took up the tabernacle of Molech, and the star of the god Remphan;*[q]

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[o] The Egyptians having called their heroes by the names of their sidereal and elementary deities, added to the history of the life and actions of such heroes a mythological account of their philosophical opinions concerning the gods, whose names had also been given to such heroes, &c. See Connect. vol. ii. b. viii.

[p] ἐως παλιν οι επιγενόμενοι ιερεῖς χρονοις υστερον ἠθέλησαν ἀυτην [*i. e.* προθεσιν beforegoing] αποκρυψαι, καὶ εἰς το μυθῶδες αποκατασησαι. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9.

[q] The Israelites' worship of the calf at Horeb was an imitation of the sacra of the Egyptians; for the Egyptians had consecrated animals to their sidereal and ele-

how it travelled into Greece; where new fables were invented, and added to the more ancient ones; and these varied in different ages,[r] until they grew too gross for philoso-

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mentary divinities before the Israelites left them. But St. Steven, Acts vii. 43, does not say that they worshipped Molech and Remphan in the wilderness; but after the forty years in the wilderness were over, at the expiration of which they came into Canaan, they were again given up to worship these gods, who were hero-gods of some of the countries round about them.

[r] The Πόθος of Taautus, the blind mechanical principle, so called by the Egyptian naturalists, became the Ἔρως of the mythologists; not meaning, by that word, *Cupid*, the blind god of love; for this god of love is not named, or is, if mentioned, called Ἵμερος in Homer, never Ἔρως or Ἔρως; and Hesiod also names him Ἵμερος, and describes him as belonging to Venus, and not as Ἔρως. For of Venus or Cytherea he says,

Τῇ δ' Ἔρως ὠμάρτησε καὶ Ἵμερος ἕσπετο καλὸς.

HESIOD. Theog. v. 201.

Eros himself was not the blind and inconstant boy, unto whom later fables ascribed a precedency

Res solliciti plena timoris amor------ OVID.

over the fickle passion, which admits, as Terence tells us, neque consilium neque modum, &c.; but Eros was in

phy to bear them, and occasioned those who speculated upon them, to think many of them were only tales of poets to please

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the beginning from Chaos and Tellus, like πόθος in Sanchoniatho; and is described,

——Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θέοισι
Λυσιμελής, παντῶν τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
Δαμνᾶται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.

HESIOD. Theog. v. 120.

Eros, in the natural system called πόθος, was the principle that brought things into the harmony of order out of chaos or confusion; and the person feigned by the fabulists to be this deity, was some eminent personage, who had excelled in ability to temper and moderate the minds of men: who had governed himself, and greatly taught others to have peace in themselves, and to live in peace and harmony with other persons. And that love should follow after, wherever such a person is acquainted with Venus, the goddess of all elegance and beauty, is no unreasonable supposition; but whether this Mythos was more antique than Hesiod, I am not certain. I think we find nothing like it in Homer; who supposes Venus to be the goddess, who subjected unto love both mortals and immortals. Ἵμερος, whom Hesiod makes a person, is like φιλότης, in Homer, not a proper name, but generally, I think always, a common noun. Homer's Iliad, ξ. ver. 197, &c.

and captivate the minds of the vulgar; although they saw in some a deeper and hidden meaning, which they endeavoured to explore and interpret, as their traditions furnished tenets for the solution of them. But having hinted that, in fact, the writings of Egypt, in the age of Moses, were only plain narrations; as they conceived things to have been caused by operations of nature, exerting themselves without any intelligent being creating and directing them; and that Moses, contrary hereto, set forth as plainly that there was a God, who created all things; that, in opposition hereto, the heathen nations, not acknowledging the one God, and yet compelled to think, that agencies without intelligence could not be the powers that ruled the world, set up many gods; and those such gods, that fable and mythology naturally arose from the institution of them; and consequently had not their rise until the system of Moses was thus opposed, nor until after his days. Although I cannot herein pretend to any certainty of demonstration; yet, I think, I may venture

to say, that nothing so probable as what I have offered, can be collected from any remains of antiquity, to contradict it.

SECTION II.

Drs. Burnet and Middleton's Objections against the Literal Interpretation of the Mosaic Account of the Creation, considered.—How the History of Creation might be easily handed down from Adam to Moses.

THE objections, to which I have replied in the ensuing treatise, are taken chiefly from Dr. Burnet, sometime master of the Charter-house; who appears to have given us the substance of what can be offered against the literal interpretation. Other writers only copy after him; and Dr. Middleton, I think, does not improve any point he took from him. One, indeed, he states

in a manner something different from Dr. Burnet, which I will here consider as Dr. Middleton represents it.

Dr. Middleton suggests, that it is not possible for any mortal, " to give a historical narration, to describe the particular manner, order, and time, in which, or the materials out of which, this world, and its principal inhabitant, man, were formed: that were any writer to pretend to it, we should apply to him what was said by God to Job, *where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare, if thou hast understanding*. And we should think the same of him, which Job confesseth of himself; that he had *uttered what he understood not; things too wonderful for him, which he knew not.*[a] We should conclude, at once, that the whole, which the wisest of men could write upon the subject, must be the mere effect of fancy and imagination." ——" From the nature of the story itself, we should readily conclude, that no writer

[a] Job xxxviii. 4.

whatsoever could be so sufficiently informed; as to be able to give a historical narration of it; or could have authority enough to make it pass for such with any judicious reader."[b] Dr. Middleton introduces the suggestion, not pretending directly to say, that Moses could not possibly, supposing him an inspired writer, give an authentic account of the facts related by him; but desiring to have the reader weigh and consider, what he would reasonably think of such facts so related, if the relator was thought not to have a warrant of a real revelation from God, of the matters declared by him.[c] What argument can be drawn from what he thus offers, seems to me to be very obscure. The apostle tells us, *that through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God;*[d] where he

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[b] See Middleton's Examinat. p. 128. Burnet's Archæol. p. 284.

[c] Let us take a review of the story, as if it had been told us by Sanchoniatho. Middleton's Examinat. p. 128.

[d] Heb. xi. 3.

evidently refers to the Mosaic history. That the worlds were not eternal, but were made by the power of God, may be demonstrated from the reason and nature of things; but that *God spake the word, and they were made; commanded, and they were created;*[e] that they were not made, without the word spoken by him; not made by the immediate purpose of his will; but that he said, *let them be, and they were so;*[f] as also that things did not instantly, all at once, take their being, as he might design them, but, in six days, were in their several orders *framed and fashioned, day by day;* such in every day, as he was pleased to appoint, *when*, before, *there were none of them;* this we may have no reason to believe,[g] but upon the autho-

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[e] Psal. cxlviii. 5. See xxxiii. 6, 9.

[f] Gen. i. 3, 6, 11, 14, 20, 24, &c.

[g] Nothing would give us so clear a view of the apostle's reasoning in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, as the carefully observing his distinction and definition of the word faith: *faith*, he tells us, ver. 1. *is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.* The word we translate substance, is ὑπόστασις;

rity of Moses' history. But shall we now ask the question? what if we set aside all consideration of the authority of Moses, and

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how we came here to render it substance, is not easy to say: as derived from ὑπὸ and ἵστημι, it may signify what the logicians define substance, *res subsistens et substans accidentibus*; but faith, an act of the mind, is no such substance. There is a passage in the New Testament, which may lead us to render this place more pertinently. St. Paul tells us, 2 Cor. ix. 4. of the ὑπόστασις, *of his boasting*—where we render the word, *the confidence*. The apostle assuredly believed that his boasting was not groundless; and this assured belief he called ὑπόστασις. In this we have a clear meaning; faith is this assurance, an undoubting persuasion of the things hoped for. The apostle adds, that it is the evidence, ἔλεγχος, what proves to us things not seen. We are apt to be very indistinct in our notions of faith. In common speech we often take faith and knowledge the one for the other; the believing a thing upon good testimony, and the knowing it, are, in a general acceptation, reputed one and the same thing. But the scriptures shew us a real difference between faith and knowledge; which are not the same attainments; for we are exhorted to add the one to the other: *add*, says St. Peter, *to your faith, knowledge*; 2 Pet. i. 5. Faith is the believing things not seen, not known to ourselves, but declared to us, and believed upon testimony, that

suppose what is written by him, as if written by Sanchoniatho, or any other ancient sage, who wrote uninspired, what he apprehended to be true, agreeably to his own sentiments of things? I answer: it will unquestionably follow, such sage not being infallible, if there be many as possible ways, in

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they are true. We are capable of information, without the testimony of others, two ways; by our senses, and by our understanding. Things external strike our senses, and we immediately know what impressions we receive of them; and we have an ability of mind to see and compare our thoughts of things, and to form a judgment what to conclude of them. In this sense, divers things, which, literally speaking, are *invisible*, may, in the language of St. Paul, be said to be *clearly seen, being understood:* Rom. i. 20. We have a knowledge, an intuition of them in our mind, from our clear reasonings upon them, without information from another: but faith is not of this sort; *faith cometh by hearing*, Rom. x. 17: it is the belief of what we do not know, of ourselves, but are assured is known by some other, and declared to us. Now if we would accurately distinguish between belief in general, and that faith which is our religious concern; in the one we believe things, which are testified to be known by men to be true; in the other we believe things, that are well testified to have been declared from God.

which the thing related by him, might have been done, besides the particular one he has adopted, we may have no reason to believe the particulars declared by him, exclusive of all others. But I see no point hence gained towards infidelity; because the authority of the inspired writer, not being destroyed, but only, for argument sake, put aside out of the question; *the foundation of God remaineth still sure;* the authority of the inspired writer, whenever we look back to it, brings its force along with it, to assure us, that what is declared by such writer must be true, and ought to be believed by us. Our disputant, therefore, seems to me contriving rather how to beguile us, than substantially to confute us. To be desired, for argument sake, to lay aside the authority of sacred writ, to examine how far the truth of what is declared, is such, that by reason alone, without other authority, we may prove it, is a specious proposal; but if, upon such examination, we find of the matter enquired after, that, had it not been authentically related to have been done in a particular manner,

many other ways might be conceived, in which it might as reasonably have been effected; if we will not here re-assume the authority of the relation made to us, to give it its just weight to determine our belief, we cannot be said to be reasoned out of our faith; for we inconsiderately give it up, without any reason for our so doing.

> For man to tell how human life began,
> Is hard; for who himself beginning knew?
>
> MILTON's *Par. Lost*, b. viii.

For man to pretend further to speak of his own actual knowledge of things done and past, before he had any being, is, in the nature of the thing, impossible. But that Adam, during the space of a life of above nine hundred years,[h] should recollect all that he had experienced from the time when he had a knowledge of his being; should conceive that he had revelations from the voice of God, of all that God thought fit to make

[h] Adam lived 930 years, *Gen.* v. 5.

known unto men; of his creation of the heavens and the earth, and of all the host and creatures of them; that Adam should frequently inculcate to his children all he thus knew; that authentic narrations of these things should have come down from before the flood to the posterities that were afterwards;[i] and that when Moses wrote his history, there should have been no such obsolete remains, as we now may be apt to think them; are things in themselves not at all improbable.

From Adam unto Abraham, considering the then duration of man's life, is, comparatively speaking, no greater length for even tradition, than from our father's grandfather unto us. Abraham lived to A. M. 2183,[k] to see Jacob, the father of Joseph, about fifteen

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[i] There might have been among the faithful, before the flood, more express revelations than have come down to our times. Bishop of London's Dissert. II. p. 237. See Jude, ver. 14. See Connect. vol. i. b. i.

[k] Connect. b. vi.

years old;[l] Jacob had, from his youth up, been a diligent enquirer into, and observer of the hopes[m] and fear of his fathers,[n] and had, himself, many revelations from God.[o] He came down unto Joseph, and lived with him in Egypt seventeen years before he died.[p] He lived full of the hope of the promises, and died in the belief of them,[q] and left Joseph as fully embracing them, and persuaded of them, and testifying them unto his brethren, when he also died.[r] Joseph lived to see his son Ephraim's children of the third generation;[s] Moses was not lower than in the third generation from Levi;[t] and the father of Moses must have been well known personally to Joseph. Put these things together, and we may reasonably admit all that had been believed from the be-

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[l] Jacob was born A. M. 2168, b. vii.

[m] Ibid. [n] Gen. xxxi. 53.

[o] See Gen. xviii. xxxii. xxxv. &c.

[p] Gen. xlvii. 28. [q] He prophesied of them to his sons very largely, Gen. xlviii. xlix. 29.

[r] Gen. l. 24. [s] Ver. 23.

[t] 1 Chron. vi. 1---3.

ginning in this family, might have come down unto Moses so authentically testified, that all he wrote, from the creation to his own times, might unquestionably be received by his brethren and fathers as well warranted to be true. And, agreeably hereto, we find, that notwithstanding all the opposition he had from his Israelites, enough surely, during the whole forty years he had the charge of them,[u] to make it plain, that they were not a people disposed implicitly to believe him; but rather, wherever they could find the least pretence for it, most zealously asserting a liberty to gainsay and contradict him; notwithstanding, in all he had related to them from the creation to his becoming their leader, we have not one hint, that they disbelieved it, even in any particular at all.

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[u] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii.

SECTION III.

Of the Promise of the Seed of the Woman; with a Refutation of Dr. Middleton's Observations against the Evangelical Account of the Genealogy of our blessed Lord.

BUT, if I should rest this matter here, and suppose, that Moses' history of the Creation and Fall had no greater authority, than what can be given from its being reasonable to believe he might write it merely from the records of his fathers, I should most egregiously trifle. Let the conduct of Moses, what he said, what he wrote, and what he did, be only considerately examined; and it will appear beyond a possibility of contradiction, that God himself was, in many things, his infallible director.[a] And if God was his director in other parts of his writings, what reason can we have to think he

[a] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii.

was not so from the beginning? In the history of the Fall, Moses writes so emphatically, that one person should be descended from the woman, to be the capital subduer of the great enemy of mankind; he limited this person to be of the seed of Abraham,[b] of Isaac,[c] and of the tribe of Judah.[d] Surely *flesh and blood* could not have assured him, 1500 years before-hand, that thus it should be;[e] yet the things which he thus foretold were accomplished in a miraculous manner, when *the fulness of* their *time was come;* and thus the prediction, and the fulfilling it, bear an undeniable testimony to each other. Nothing but the immediate power of God could have brought to pass the things foretold, in the manner in which they were accomplished; so that the particular accomplishment of them could be none other than the work of God. And as no one could foresee what God would thus

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[b] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii. See also Gen. xxii. 18.
[c] Gen. xxi. 12. [d] Gen. xlix. 10.
[e] Matth. xvi. 17.

do, but *the spirit of God*;[f] so no man beforehand could say of these things, that they should so be, unless it had been revealed from God.

Contrary to what the scriptures inform us, and which I have had occasion to mention, that our Saviour was a descendant from David, Dr. Middleton would seem to argue that he was not really of the tribe of Judah; but rather of the tribe of Levi. I need not go through a long detail of what he offers, the whole of which may be comprised in a few particulars. 1. He observes, that Joseph, the husband of Mary the mother of Jesus, was only the reputed father of our Saviour; he says our Saviour had really no share or participation of his blood.[g] And yet, 2. That the Evangelists, whenever they deduce his pedigree, shew that he was the son of David, by a line up from Joseph only.[h] That they never say, that Mary, the

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[f] 1 Cor. ii. 11.

[g] Remarks on the Variations in the Evangelists, p. 29.

[h] Ibid.

mother of Jesus, through whom alone his real genealogy could come from David, was descended of David.[i] 4. That their silence herein, seems to make it probable that Mary was not of such descent. 5. That Mary is observed to be the *cousin of Elizabeth*,[k] and that Elizabeth being of the daughters of Aaron,[l] Mary, her cousin, was most probably of the same tribe, namely, of the tribe of Levi, and not of the tribe of Judah.[m]

The answer to this is, 1. The Evangelists are particularly careful to observe, that Jesus was not descended from Joseph his reputed father.[n] 2. Their deducing Joseph's pedigree from David, was merely to remove the prejudices of the Jews; for they at first would look no further than to consider Jesus as the carpenter's son,[o] and were scandalized

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[i] Remarks on the Variations in the Evangelists, p. 30.

[k] Luke i. 36. [l] Luke i. 5.

[m] It needs not be remarked that David was of the tribe of Judah.

[n] See Matth. i. 18....25. Luke i. 35. iii. 23.

[o] Matth. xiii. 55.

at the meanness of his birth;[p] thought him a fellow of so low an extraction, that there was no saying whence he was.[q] Contrary to these, their prevailing sentiments, the Evangelists, at the same time not concealing or disguising the truth, that Jesus really was of God;[r] that Joseph was only his supposed father; nevertheless took care to shew, that were his genealogy, as they imagined, to be reckoned by or through Joseph; even thus, also, he would have been the son of David. This would have been the case, either of the two ways in which the Jews counted their pedigrees; in one of which they reckoned the son to belong to the parent who begat him; in the other, where a man died without issue,[s] and his brother, or next of kin, married the widow, and raised up seed to the deceased, the seed raised up was counted not to the real father who begat him, but to the deceased who died without issue.[t]

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[p] Matth. xiii. 55.
[q] John ix. 29.
[r] Vide quæ sup.
[s] Deut. xxv. 5.
[t] Ibid. ver. 6.

This is allowed to have occasioned the difference between St. Matthew's and St. Luke's genealogies;[u] both which considered, were evidence to the Jews, that, although they were obstinate and would reckon our Saviour's descent through Joseph; yet even here, count which way they would, the genealogy would come up to David. But, 3. Why was not the descent of Mary, of whom alone our Saviour's genealogy could truly come from David, as expressly said to be from that patriarch, as Joseph's? I answer, it was. St. Luke tells us, in recording the angel's salutation of Mary, that the son to be born of her should have the throne of his father David; so that he recognises David to be the progenitor of Jesus. He immediately after allows, that this child was to be born of Mary without her knowing man:[x] if, then, he had not before hinted of the child thus to be born, that by his mother he was a descendant of David, his narration would

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[u] Matth. i. Luke iii. [x] Luke i. 32, 35.

evidently be a contradiction to itself. But the Evangelist had sufficiently guarded against this, in plainly telling us, before he begins the salutation, that the *angel Gabriel was sent to a virgin of the house of David.*[y] The words, *espoused to a man, whose name was Joseph,* inserted between *virgin*—and *of the house of David,*[z] may be a parenthesis, indicating, that *of the house of David* should not be attributed to Joseph. For, as I have observed, the sense and argument of the whole context must lead us to think otherwise; as, indeed, does the manner of the expression likewise. For, as the genealogies of the Jews were deduced in the male line, it is most reasonable to think, that if the Evangelist had here intended what he said, to be understood of Joseph, his expression would have been, as he else-

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[y] Luke i. 27.

[z] The words of the text are, πρὸς παρθένον, μεμνηστευμένην ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωσὴφ, ἐξ οἴκου Δαβίδ. An obstinate critic may fight this battle, but I apprehend that ἐξ οἴκου Δαβὶδ belongs to παρθένον.

where says of him, *of the house and lineage of David*;[a] but women, though not said to be of the lineage, being with propriety recorded to be *of the house of their fathers*,[b] the expression concurs with the reason of the narration, that the Evangelist herein spake of Mary only. But, 4. Why was not this point more frequently, more clearly, more largely, insisted upon? I answer; because it was a point doubted by none, but allowed by all. It was, St. Paul tells us, προδηλον, *manifest*, without controversy, *that our Lord sprang of the tribe of Judah*;[c] how sprang of that tribe? by his father Joseph? This the apostles denied; it must then be thus undisputed by the descent of Mary only. For, 5. As to what is said of Elizabeth being cousin to Mary, and therefore, Elizabeth being of the tribe of Levi,[d] that Mary was also of that tribe—; this way of arguing—for any one of letters to

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[a] Luke ii. 4.

[b] Psal. xlv. 10. Gen. xxiv. 40. et in al. loc.

[c] Heb. vii. 14. [d] Luke i. 5.

[illegible] may be deceived [illegible] exploits of our foolish [illegible] The [illegible] used by the [illegible] St. Paul [illegible] the same [illegible] of [illegible] *great heroines* and [illegible] *cant for his brethren, his* [illegible] *to the flesh*, his *kinsmen* [illegible] Who they were, that stood in [illegible] us very [illegible] were [illegible] only those of the [illegible] his own tribe? but they [illegible] tes all *to whom pertained* [illegible] *ry, and the covenants* [illegible] *of the fathers*; the promise [illegible] *twelve tribes* hoped *to* [illegible] It is most evident, then, that the re- [illegible] between Mary and Eliza- [illegible] the word *cousin*, or *kinswoman*, did not [illegible] that they were both of the same

[illegible] Rom. [illegible] i. 1.

[illegible] Luke xxiv. 7.

tribe; but that they were children of th same people; both of them Israelites, (one and the same stock, namely, *of th stock of Abraham.*[k] The reader may easil perceive, that in this argument Dr. Middle ton descended below every notion we ca have of a man of learning, to invent an e pedient to puzzle (to such readers as migl not be able to consider the texts cited b him, in their original language) the mo clear and allowed truths concerning our S viour, of which he must have known no re argument could be formed to contradi them. And to this he descended (what i duced him I will not take upon me to d termine) at a season of life, when he stoo upon the very threshold of immortality.

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[k] Acts xiii. 26.

SECTION IV.

The Necessity and Certainty of a Divine Revelation; and the Impossibility of discovering the Things mentioned in the Sacred Writings, by any Efforts of Human Reason.—Of the various Readings of the Old and New Testaments; and the Integrity of Divine Revelation.

THE principles, which I have made the foundation of the following treatise, are, that human reason was not originally a sufficient guide for man, without some express revelation from God; and that positive precepts given by God, however we may be apt to conclude of them, from their not appearing intrinsically of real moment to the rectitude of our lives, are not therefore unreasonable and vain. The professed opposers of revelation must be herein unanimously against me; and some valuable writers, not apprehending a necessity,

though allowing the expediency of a revelation, do not entirely think with me in these particulars. The reader will find their way of reasoning considered in the following pages.[a] All I would here offer is, that if authority was of moment, I might cite even Dr. Middleton for me in these points; for it is obvious, that he knew there might be found "the testimony of all ages; the experience of all the great reasoners of the heathen world, that reason (human reason alone) had not light enough to guide mankind in a course of virtue and morality,"—that there was "such an universal conviction and experience," he says, "of the insufficiency of reason, as seemed to be the voice of nature disclaiming it, as a guide, in the case of religion."[b] In like manner, treating of positive precepts, he deduces an argument from what may be observed of God's works; that "the wise of all ages have, from the excellency of

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[a] See chap. v.

[b] Letter to Dr. Waterland, edit. 8. p. 49, 50.

God's works, collected the excellency of his nature. Yet in those works all still agree, that there are some particulars, not only whose nature, but whose use or reason of existence cannot be discovered by the most curious searchers into nature; nay, some things, which considered separately, appear even noxious to the rest; all which, though not understood, are yet reasonably presumed to be good and perfect in their several kinds, and subservient to the general beauty and excellency of the whole system."[c] He proceeds: "'Tis full as unreasonable to charge all positive precepts, supposed to come from God, whose use and relation to morality we cannot comprehend, to fraud and imposture; as, in the visible works of God, to impute every thing we do not understand, or even every thing that seems hurtful, to the contrivance of some malicious power opposite to the divine nature—. As, on the one hand, we do not exclude from the catalogue of God's works,

[c] Letter to Dr. Waterland, edit. 8. p. 61.

all those particulars, in which we cannot trace the marks of divine wisdom; so, on the other, we cannot exclude from the body of his laws, those few injunctions, which seem not to have impressed on them the legible characters of morality.[d]"

In examining the text of Moses, I have proposed to the learned reader's disquisition, whether in the 19th and 20th verses of the second chapter of Genesis, two words, *nepesh chajah*, have not been, by the mistake of transcribers, removed in the text from one line into another.[e] The mistake is so easy to be made, and the true and clear meaning of the place rendered so indisputable, by allowing such a transposition, that, I apprehend, what I have suggested, may, perhaps, carry its own vindication. If I had the opportunity of which a learned author is making a very commendable use,[f] to search such manuscript copies as we have of the Hebrew bible, I should very carefully

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[d] Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 62. [e] See p. 56.

[f] See Kennicott's State of the printed Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

have examined whether any can be found, which may justify my supposition. I could name other texts, into which I would make a like enquiry: I will mention two: one is the latter part of the 24th verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis. The enquiry should be, whether the words now printed משם רעה אבן ישראל, are not in any manuscript written בשם רעה אבן ישראל? The supposed difference is in one letter only; whether the first letter in the first word be a mem or a beth; a difference so small, that a reader, not very attentive, may not see it; the least dash of the pen, added or omitted, (the letters are so similar,) may make it the one or the other.* The other text is, Psal. cv. 28; *He sent darkness and made it dark*: in our bibles the translation of the latter part of the verse is, *and they rebelled not against his word.* The old version, still used in our common prayer, is, *and they were not obedient unto his word.* The two

* This alteration is not authorised by any of the MSS. collated either by Kennicott, or De Rossi. EDIT.

versions evidently contradict each other: the original words are printed

ולא מרו דברו [g]

It would, I think, be of no moment to consider how the translators came thus to differ; the reader may see it by consulting the critics:[h] I do not find any good way proposed for bringing them to an agreement. Both the versions cannot be true; and it is therefore possible that neither may. I would hereupon enquire, whether what we make two words לא מרו, and read *loa maru*, were not originally written in one word לאמרו, to be read *leæmoru*, the literal translation of the verse to be thus; *He sent darkness and made it dark, and by his speaking his word.** In this correction we do not alter a letter: we only suppose what are now read in two

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[g] The word is printed in the text דבריו, but the marginal reference tells us it should be דברו.

[h] Vide Poli Synops. in loc.

* Neither is this emendation authorised by any of the collations, already referred to. EDIT.

words to be really but one, and we vowel the words to sound their syllables but very little differently in the one case or the other.[i] But the fact alluded to being, that *God said unto Moses, stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt—and Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven, and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt.*[k] And the intention of the Psalmist being to ascribe these miracles most expressly to the word of God: *He spake*, says he, *and there came divers sorts of flies, and lice in all their coasts.*[l] Again, *He spake, and the locusts came, &c.*; both the manner of the Psalmist, and the clear meaning of the place, seem to lead us to the reading for which I am enquiring.

I am sensible that some very pious English readers may hastily take offence at every liberty of this sort; and will be ready

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[i] לא מרו. We read לאמרו. We must punctuate the words instead of לאמרו לא מרו.

[k] Exod. x. 21, 22. [l] Psal. cv. 31, 34.

to ask; May not a pretender to learning, at this rate, make what he will of our bible? I answer, not at all; and may give a very plain view, as it were, of the whole of this matter. Suppose our English tongue had been originally written like the Hebrew, without inserting the vowels, which give us the sound of the syllables. Let us consider the following paragraph, *he that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace offering.*[m] It may be seen, that if these words were to be written without vowels, the words *peace-offering* might be thus characterized, *p c f f r ng*. Suppose, through some early mistake of transcribing, all printed copies had both divided erroneously these letters into words, and had not put the proper vowels under their respective letters; suppose the letters $\frac{p\ f}{ie\ e}$ which make one word, had the vowels, being *ie e*, put under them, as I have marked them; *ie* to be read between *p* and *e*, and *e* after *c*, a letter final; so as to read this word *piece*. Suppose the first *f* was taken to be

[m] Ecclus. xxxv. 1.

a word by itself, and *o* put under it, to read it *of*; suppose $\frac{fr\ ng}{i\ e}$ were vowelled, as I have underlined them; *i* to be sounded after *r*, *e* to be the final letter, the word to be thus read, *fringe*; would any one rest satisfied to read the sentence, *he that taketh heed to the commandment, offereth a piece of fringe?* and should any one shew, that *of* is, with the following letters, but one word, and that the letters might be so vowelled, as to read *pc f fr ng, a peace offering*; would not the clear sense of the place vindicate this to be the true reading, and evince that the other, of what date soever, and how much soever followed, must be an error? And would any reasonable man be ready to think of him, who should offer so expressive an emendation, that it might be dangerous, lest he should make the English tongue speak whatever he had a mind to, and not its certain and true meaning? I do not intend to insinuate that the case I have put exactly resembles either of our translations of the Psalmist, above cited: it certainly does not, neither of our translations being in them-

selves absurd. And the Hebrew tongue is not so various in its number of words, so far similar, that such instances can occur in it, as may be in our English, if so written. But, although in the Hebrew the vowels put under the words in points, may be necessary to pronunciation, to teach or remind us to give the word such syllables, and each syllable such sound; as the points put under them direct; yet, as such points were not originally in the sacred pages;[n] so neither are they necessary for any one who tolerably understands the language, to ascertain the true meaning of a text. For, if a word happen to be wrong punctuated, it may mislead him; and, if it be not punctuated at all, the letters of the word, and the context, will better direct him to see the true meaning of the text, without any false bias to divert him from it.

The talking of various readings, transpo-

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[n] See what the very learned Dean Prideaux has written at large upon this subject, Connect. part i. book v.

sitions of words, additions in some copies of the scriptures, omissions in others, are, indeed, matters so managed by the artful, who desire to perplex and deceive, as to raise terrible appearances or apprehensions in the minds of the well-meaning, but unwary and unlearned. And I know of no writer, who has aimed at this point more unfairly than the late Lord Bolingbroke; who roundly tells us, that "the scriptures are come down to us broken and confused, full of additions, interpolations, and transpositions, made, we neither know when nor by whom; and such, in short, as never appeared on the face of any other book on whose authority men have agreed to rely."[o] In another place, he says the scriptures are "extracts of histories, not histories; extracts of genealogies, not genealogies;"[p] and, in a third place, that "it would not be hard to shew, upon great inducements of probability, that the law and the history were far from being

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[o] Of the Study of History, letter iii. p. 95, 96.

[p] Id. p. 102.

blended together, as they now stand in the Pentateuch, even from the time of Moses down to that of Esdras."[q] It would not be decent in me to say how palpably untrue all these assertions are. The two last I considered very largely, some time ago; and, I hope, with the utmost freedom and impartiality.[r] And that the sacred books are far from having had a worse preservation than other ancient writings, has been unanswerably shewn by a more able hand, as far as concerns the New Testament;[s] and should Dr. Kennicott proceed as he began, and collate the manuscript and printed copies of the Old Testament, we should see the event come out in the one case, as it is known to have done in the other.* Dr. Bentley would have told Lord Bolingbroke, upon what he says of

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[q] Of the Study of History, letter iii. p. 100.

[r] Preface to Connect. vol. iii. p. xxvii. &c.

[s] Phileleuth. Lipsiens. part i. p. 92—114.

* Dr. Kennicot has completed his task; and a learned foreigner, De Rossi, has greatly extended the enquiry; and the result is as creditable to the cause of divine revelation, as Dr. Shuckford had conjectured. See Dr.

additions, omissions, interpolations, variations, &c. in the scriptures, " that it filled him with disdain to see such common stuff brought in with an air of importance." All his lordship offers has been before offered even by the lowest creatures of the unbelieving tribe; even the assertion upon which his lordship seems to plume himself, that " the scriptures would have been preserved entirely in their genuine purity, had they been entirely dictated by the Holy Ghost,"[t] and they have been answered over and over.[u]

These are the kings, that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.[v] It is commonly observed concerning this paragraph, that it could not be written until after there had been a king in Israel; *i. e.* until after the

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Kennicott's Hebrew bible, 2 vols. fol. Oxon. 17—and the variæ lectiones Vet. Testamenti, by J. B. De Rossi, 4 vols. 4to, Parmæ, 1784—88. EDIT.

[t] Lord Bolingbroke's letter, iii. p. 95.

[u] See Phil. Lipsien. [v] Gen. xxxvi. 31.

times of Saul, and consequently that it was not written by Moses. Now suppose that we can in no wise find out by whom it was written; admit that some private owner of a manuscript Pentateuch wrote it in the margin of his manuscript, as a remark of his own; that a copier of such manuscript carelessly wrote it into the text of his transcript; is there any thing material in this interpolation? must not the learned see that the scripture is perfect without it? and can the unlearned see any detriment in having the observation? Of this sort are the interpolations so formidably talked of. They are very few in number, though said, at random, to be so many. And whatever apprehensions may be raised in the minds of the unlearned about them; nothing is more easy to be shewn, than that no point of our religion is materially affected by them at all.

"But there are omissions in some texts of scripture—." They who say this should produce their instances, deal openly and fairly with the world; let us see of what

nature their objection is, that we may not be amused and alarmed, where there is no reason. I will therefore give an instance or two, that even the unlearned reader may judge of this particular. In the xiith chapter of Exodus, ver. 40, we read, *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt*, (I would rather translate the Hebrew words, *which they sojourned) in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* It is plain, that the Israelites were not four hundred and thirty years in Egypt; for they came into Egypt A. M. 2298,[y] and their exit was A. M. 2513;[z] so that their sojourning in Egypt was but two hundred and fifteen years. But the Septuagint give us this text as follows: *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, was four hundred and thirty years:*[a] the words here added are, *and*

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[y] See Connect. vol. ii. b. vii. [z] Book ix.

[a] Ἡ δὲ κατοίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ἣν κατῴκησαν ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα. Vers. Septuagint.

in the land of Canaan. Now Abraham came into Canaan to sojourn there A. M. 2083:[b] if we count hence to the exit, we find it exactly four hundred and thirty years. What difficulty now can we have, even supposing that no Hebrew manuscript, now extant, has the words, which we render, *and in the land of Egypt*;[c] will not any reasonable enquirer think, that these words were in the text from which the Septuagint translated, and that they really belong to the Hebrew text, though the manuscript copies we have may, by some carelessness of copiers, have omitted them. The observation of our learned critic is a very just one: "If emendations are true, they must have been once in some manuscripts, at least in the author's original. But it will not follow, that because no manuscript now exhibits them, none more ancient ever did."[d]

No one can doubt but that Moses, in the

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[b] Connect. vol. i. b. v. [c] I ought not to omit, that in the Samaritan Pentateuch the Hebrew words are found, which we render, *and in the land of Egypt*.

[d] Philel. Lips. p. 106.

xxxiiid chapter of Deuteronomy, blessed the twelve tribes, every tribe particularly, according to his blessing; and yet it is said to have no one copy of the original text, no one version in general, which mentions the tribe of Simeon at all; the Alexandrian manuscript of the Septuagint only inserting the name Simeon in the 6th verse, writes that verse, in that one word, differently from all other copies.[e] Here then is an omission which cannot be supplied from any Hebrew manuscript: will it therefore follow that there is no omission? No version that we now have amends this omission, except one copy of one translation.* Will it follow, that originally all versions

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[e] The Hebrew text is,

וחי ראובן ואל־ימת והי מתיו מספר

The common Septuagint version is, Ζήτω Ρουβὴν καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω καὶ ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ: The Alexandrian manuscript is, Ζήτω Ρουβὴν καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω· Καὶ Συμεὼν ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

* Several copies of the Septuagint, besides the Alexandrian, have Συμεών. See them in Dr. Holmes' edition of the Pentateuch, cum variis lectionibus, fol. Oxon. 1798. Edit.

had not the name of Simeon? Is it not apparently more reasonable to conclude, that the Alexandrian manuscript was transcribed from some copy of some more ancient manuscript which had the word Simeon; that the original manuscript of the Septuagint translated from a Hebrew copy, which had it likewise; and that the word Simeon was originally in the Hebrew text; however, through some carelessness of transcribers, it came to be dropped, and to occasion great numbers of copies and versions to be without it? There is room in all cases of this nature for reasonable consideration and enquiry: and I dare venture to affirm, that there is no scripture-difficulty, of which a serious enquirer, able to make a proper search for it, may not find a proper solution. As for those who have not literature for this examination; if they read the scriptures with a careful design to be made *wise unto salvation*, they will soon know enough, not to be led away blindly by persons, who perhaps know little more than what may just enable them to impose upon and de-

ceive others in points, of which, whether they can say correctly, what is the right or the wrong, may be of no material moment.

The learned have raised a difficulty about a text in St. John's First Epistle, whether in chap. v. verses 7 and 8, for there are three that bear record, [*in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,*] the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood, and these three agree in one —; whether the words written in Italics, are in some manuscripts; and in what particular copies they are not? The reader may see the whole of what can be offered upon this point in Dr. Mills,[f] and will probably think there is nothing in the whole,

[f] Vide Millii Testam, Nov. ad fin. Epist. primæ Sancti Johannis.—Several writers, since Dr. Mills, have published for and against the authority of the above verse. The verse is in no authentic MS. but the Codex Montfortii, in Trinity College, Dublin: but the doctrine itself is in almost every page of the Old and New Testaments. EDIT.

which will greatly affect him, when he considers, that what is here said of *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, that they *are one*, is a doctrine to be deduced from various other texts of scripture. And, if I may be permitted, I would enquire, whether it may not perhaps be shewn to be not a jot or tittle more, than what even Moses had declared 1500 years before the writing any books of the New Testament were at all thought of.

The 39th verse of the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy has, in our English version of it, these words, *I, even I am He, and there is no God with me.* I would here observe, 1. That the Hebrew text is, [*Ani Ani Hua, ve ein Elohim* nimmadi]:[s] 2. There is no word in the text answering to the English word *even*, nor is there any verb expressed in the text, no word for *am*, nor for *is*. 3. That *Ani Ani* is not the usual way of expressing *I even I* in Hebrew. It should

[s] The Hebrew words are
אני אני הוא ואין אלהים עמדי

rather have been *Ani hinneni*, if *I even I* had been intended. *I even I* do bring a flood, is not *Ani, Ani*, but *Ani hinneni.*[h] For these reasons, ought we not to translate the words of Moses literally? *Ani Ani Hua ve ein Elohim nimmadi,*[i] *I, I, He, but not Gods with me.* The verb substantive, here understood, speaks itself to be, there *are*: *I and I and He*, are three personal pronouns: and the whole sentence is verbally rendered, *there are I, and I, and He,*[k] *but*

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[h] See Gen. vi. 17. *Behold I even I do bring a flood*—is,

אני הנני מביא את־ המבול

and it is by some thought that הנני here should be written הנה without the *suffix* pronoun, as in Exod. xxxi. 6.

[i] אני אני הוא ואין אלהים עמדי

mecum Dii at non Ille Ego Ego

A like expression, I think, is found in Isaiah xliii. 25.

אנכי אנכי הוא מחה פשעיך

and in a like signification. It was God, who is *anochi, anochi, hua*; or *ani, ani, hua*, that blotted out the transgressions of his people.

[k] The comma in English supplies the copulative, which cannot but be understood in the Hebrew, though not inserted.

not Gods with me. It was a doctrine before taught by Moses, that there were more persons than one called *Jehovah, God, whom no man hath seen at any time, nor can see; and the Lord, who had appeared unto Abraham.*[l] And yet he strictly charges Israel to hear, *i. e.* to observe it to be their *faith*, that *Jehovah, their Elohim*, was *one Jehovah.*[m] May we not suppose him in the text before us, declaring in the terms of the same faith, that the three persons he here speaks of were not *Elohim*, Gods in the plural number;[n] for, to use the words of scripture, they were *one Jehovah.*

If what I have thus offered may be admitted, it must surely be a vain labour for any to endeavour to strike the words which they desire to contest, out of the New Testament; unless they could really put the

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[l] See Connect. vol. ii. b. ix.

[m] See Deut. vi. 4. Connect. ibid. The Hebrew words in Deut. vi. 4. are, יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד

[n] The word אלהים is often used as a noun plural in scripture; see הלכו אלהים. 2 Sam. vii. 22. See Deut. vi. 13, &c.

doctrine intended in them out of the old. But such is the harmony of Scripture, that nothing in it is really ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως,[a] *of a private interpretation*, so peculiarly differing from all other scriptures, as not to have such a coincidence with them, as may warrant it to be true. Rather, oftentimes, what the prophets of a later age have said, when considered, discovers its having such a foundation in what had been said before, though the speakers had evidently no intention of speaking one from the other; that herein appears some signature that what is said is of God.[b]

There remain to be considered some other variations of copies of the sacred books from one another. The books of the New Testament have, it seems, been collated with so scrupulous an exactness, that we have it marked as a various reading, if there be in different copies, or versions from copies, or in citations of texts by subsequent writers

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[a] 2 Pet. i. 20. [b] Ibid.

for near five hundred years, the least difference of writing, the smallest particle or article of speech; or if the order and collocation of words minutely differ, though the meaning is exactly, and most clearly the same; and with all this indefatigable preciseness, the variations in the New Testament only are said to be 30,000.[q] But let us consider: can we think of any book, if it had been published so many years, and there were so many different copies of it, translations into different tongues, citations made from it in divers languages, and all these were to be ransacked, and it were remarked as a different reading, wherever the word *and* was written in three letters, or in the character &, *this* was written ⁚, *that* ⁚, *therefore* ∴, &c. with many other such[r] minutenesses; might not abundance of variations beyond number

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[q] See Phileleuth Lips.

[r] We might gather many of this kind of variations from books printed in the old black letter, wherein are numbers of abbreviations different from any now in use.

be amassed in this manner? Our learned critic assures us, upon his own knowledge, that there is hardly a classic author, which, if thus examined, would not afford more various readings than the scriptures.* I may perhaps be allowed to say very safely, that of the 30,000 variations in the New Testament, not near one in a thousand are in themselves worthy to be in the least regarded; though the learned and laborious do well to collect them, that those who know how to use them may have full materials to shew, that all the fancies and surmises, of which the opposers of religion are ever pregnant in their imagination, are rash, groundless, frivolous, and vain. And, respecting the few that are of any moment in either the Old Testament or the New; so far as my little enquiry has been able to proceed, I never could see one, but such an account may be given of it as will shew that it neither deprives me of the instruction of any page of the sacred writings, nor destroys any article

* Phil. Lips. p. 97, 99.

of the faith, nor alters or makes void any one duty of our religion. And I may safely affirm to those who of themselves cannot find out these particulars, or, if pointed out, are not able readily to judge of them; that although I would not prevent any from endeavouring to add knowledge to their faith, in whatever points they are able; being fully satisfied, that no freedom of enquiry, justly conducted, can be of disservice to the truth, provided we do not give ourselves up to be carried to and fro, with every wind of what seems new to us, beyond what we understand—: I say, even the lowest of our people, who can only read, mark, learn and digest our scriptures as our English version offers them to us, to gather from them, that doctrine, reproof, correction and instruction in righteousness, which they plainly afford us, will find, that they can want nothing more to make them wise unto salvation: and consequently, how obvious to them will be the answer long ago returned to such a surmise, as is offered by Lord Bolingbroke? That "if the scriptures were entirely the word

[illegible] of transcribers."

[illegible] 5: "What a scheme would [illegible] What worthy rules would [illegible] to providence? That in mil[illegible] transcribed in so many ages [illegible] all the scribes or notaries, many [illegible] perhaps made it their trade and [illegible] to transcribe, should, whenever [illegible] our scriptures, be infallible and [illegible]; that their pens should spontaneously [illegible] or be supernaturally [illegible] scribes were [illegible] [illegible]. Now, to what purpose [illegible] require this miracle? To keep [illegible] indubitable the articles of [illegible] the necessary rules for our moral [illegible]. But in all these we are safe, notwithstanding any imperfections of copies: [illegible] to silence every doubt and [illegible] which no man truly religious, drawn [illegible] of [illegible] rational, [illegible] moral motives, [illegible] have, but

may be captiously taken up by the impiety and folly of such as will be pleased with any thing, which only seems to be an objection against the scriptures.*

Upon the whole, variations of Evangelists in their accounts of the same facts, the conduct of this or that particular apostle, and likewise some little difference in copies of the scriptures, are topics, which designing men, with very little examination and knowledge of what they confidently affirm, are extremely apt to take up; one saying just what another had said before him, only perhaps with a little more freedom and false assurance; not considering how fully all they say, or can say upon these topics, has been answered over and over. To writers thus determined, of saying the same things there is no end. All we can do, is to remind the candid and sincere, that the points so industriously propagated, have been fully, freely, and impartially considered by the

* See Phil. Lips. p. 112, 113.

ablest writers, not only of that profession, which it is become a fashion, with some, most unmercifully to speak against; but by gentlemen also of enquiry and impartiality; of ability and character, which no approbation of mine can add to. And, both from what they have particularly written,* and from what others have more in general considered upon these subjects; it may be sufficiently known, even by the plainest reader, that the providence of God has permitted the scriptures to have the lot of all other writings which have passed through the hands of men. Even the writers of these books have sometimes been permitted to differ, both in conduct and in matters related by them, so as to make it evident, that

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* No reader, that would judge of these subjects, should omit to consider and examine carefully Mr. West's Observations on the Resurrection of Christ: and another treatise entitled, Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul.—To which should be added, the Bishop of Landaff's Apology for the Bible; and above all, Paley's Evidences of the Christian Religion. EDIT.

there has been no confederacy of men to make the scriptures what they are. But there is in the sacred pages, in the New Testament, a morality so perfect, that it cannot be conceived, humanly speaking, that the first preachers of the gospel, men of such low parts and education as they were, could in all points, without any one error,[x] have thus taught the way of God in

[x] It would have weight with any serious examiner to consider, that although the wise heathens endeavoured by the light of reason, to trace out the lines of moral duty, and many excellent rules were given by many of them, and perhaps a careful collector might form a good system from them all; yet, as they were but men, so every one of them had their mistakes. But herein there is a difference; there are no defects, no one error in the morality of the gospel. The first publishers of it, were mean, illiterate, unlearned men; and yet they gave us moral precepts, all pure, all unmixed: no conceits, or false rules; nothing tending to the by-ends of any man, or any party; no tang of fancy or superstition; no footsteps of pride or vanity; no touch of ostentation and ambition; but all sincere. Nothing too much, nothing wanting; but the whole is so perfect and complete; and tends so absolutely to the good of mankind, that all would be happy, even in this world, if all would sincerely believe and practise it.

perfect truth. There is a forgiveness of sin, exactly what is necessary for man;[y] and yet determinately indulging no one human corruption whatsoever.[z] There is an atonement for sin, such as no invention of man

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[y] The scriptures conclude every man to be under sin, Gal. iii. 22. affirming that there is *no man that sinneth not*, 1 Kings vii. 46. And not only the scriptures testify that we every one know this of ourselves, that *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us*, 1 John i. 8. but the very heathens allow it. "Quisque innocentem se dicit, respiciens testem non conscientiam," says Seneca, de Ira, lib. 1. The question then will occur, *how can man be justified with God?* Job xxv. 4. A forgiveness of sin must be necessary, without which no soul can be saved.

[z] The point I would here offer to the reader's consideration is, whether, if the pardon of sin offered in the gospel had been the contrivance of men, it would not, like what human contrivance is for inventing, have offered indulgences for particular failings; and whether, therefore, on the contrary, considered truly as it is, a doctrine which favours no one foible of human nature, admits no thought of our continuing *in* any one *sin, that grace may abound*, Rom. vi. 1. as there can be no deceit where there is no error proposed to us; a pardon of sin, thus circumstanced, does not approve itself to be not only *grace*, but *truth*, John i. 17.

would have proposed;[a] and yet so foretold, and prefigured from the beginning, throughout all ages, that we must think it hath

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[a] The sentiments which the inquisitive heathens had upon this subject, were as follow. They agreed that philosophy was useful to correct what might be wrong in us. "Est profecto animi disciplina philosophia:" Cic. Tusc. Disput. lib. 3. c. 3. They did not see how they could purge or cleanse the conscience from sins which had been committed. All the known rites of ablution they knew to be unphilosophical: "Animi labes nec diuturnitate evanescere nec amnibus ullis elui potest:" Cic de Leg. lib. 2. c. 10. They did not think that repentance could make them whole. "Quem pœnitet peccasse pene est innocens," is, I think, said by the same writer, who does not wholly acquit upon repentance. They had notions that there might be purgations of sin in another world. Thus Virgil speaks of souls departed,

"—— exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt: aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni:
Quisque suos patimur manes ——"

Æneid, lib. 6.

The construction in the last verse is, I think, clear and easy; though both our commentators and dictionaries seem to make it difficult. *Manes* signifies our *spirits*

been appointed by God. In the Old Testament, there is the very same morality, though not so fully explained, and enforced

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departed out of this life. It is the accusative case, signifying the part of us affected; like *doleo caput, I have pain in my head; patimur manes* is, *we suffer in our souls departed.* But others philosophized, that when this life was over, they, who had lived well, should go into some star, such as they had made themselves meet to live in. "Qui bene et honeste curriculum vivendi a natura datum confecerit, ad illud astrum, cui aptus fuerit, revertetur:" Cic. Lib. de Universo. Which state was not supposed to be absolutely final; for spirits in a future life, they believed, might have a progress to perfection, and go from a higher state to higher, until they arrived at their supreme good. Vide Platon. in Phædon. in Lib. de Legib. &c. and some allowed the body a participation herein with the soul. Μεταβολὴν, τοῖς τε σώμασιν ὁμοίως ποιεῖσι ταις ψυχαῖς — ἐκ μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἥρωας, ἐκ δὲ ἡρώων εἰς δαίμονας, αἱ βελτίονες ψυχαὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν λαμβάνουσιν· ἐκ δὲ δαιμόνων ὀλίγαι μεν ἔτι χρόνῳ πόλλῳ δὲ ἀρετῆς καθαρθεῖσαι παντάπασι θειότητος μετέχουσι. Plut. Orac. Defect. How different from all these schemes is what the gospel proposes concerning *Christ Jesus!* that *this man offered one sacrifice for sins for ever,* and *through the offering of his body once for all, will perfect for ever those who come unto God through him:* Heb. x. 11, 12, 14. Whence now could the first preachers of the gospel have these things? no wisdom

to perfection; in which He who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them, taught with authority, how what they read in the law was to be understood, to direct both the thoughts of their heart and the actions of their life. There is in it a series of legal institutions, such as we have

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then in the world, would have suggested any such doctrine to them. That the prophecies indeed, obscurely, like *a light shining in a dark place*, foretold them, is true; that their Master, *beginning from Moses and all the prophets*, had *expounded unto them in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself*, is acknowledged; but as this exposition was entirely different from all that the rabbies of the Jews had delivered, and all their doctors, learned in their law and scriptures, contended for; that these things, thus hidden from the wise and prudent, should at once be brought to light by babes, be preached uniformly and consistently by a set of men, who had no human learning; and the truth of them be attested, by the author of them visibly raising himself from the dead, and going up into heaven, and by the preachers of his doctrine being approved of God, in the many miracles wrought by them at the time of their preaching this gospel; these things must put it out of all doubt, that this doctrine was not of man, but of God.

good reason to think no legislator, from human wisdom, would have thought of or contrived;[b] yet in many points so plain a schoolmaster to bring those to whom they were given *unto Christ*;[c] so clearly referring to things that were to come, and be revealed, as plainly to indicate, that there was more than human foresight and design in them.

In a word, in both Testaments there are such prophecies of things which were to be, and of some which are yet to come; such a fulfilling of all that is completed, and thence so reasonable an assurance that there shall be a performance of what remains to be fulfilled in its season; as must give every considerate reader, whether learned or unlearned, a steady belief, better grounded, than to be shaken by disputes concerning

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[b] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii. not to remark both of sacrifices of the living creatures, see vol. i. b. i. and also of circumcision; that it is impossible to give any probable or reasonable grounds of their first institution, other than that they were appointed by God.

[c] Gal. iii. 24.

the canon of scripture; when it was settled; by whom these or those books were particularly written; or what errata have crept into some copies in some texts. In all these, and many other disquisitions of a like nature, which might be started, we may find that the scriptures, in being committed unto men, have been a treasure so put into earthen vessels, as to furnish full evidence, that the *excellency of them is not of man.*[4] And although the miracles done, to bear testimony to their contents, were done in an age long since past, so that we may carelessly overlook them; nevertheless, we shall be forced to allow, that the books of scripture are such as could not have come merely from man, but must be from God.

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[4] See 2 Cor. iv. 7.

SECTION V.

The Origin and Nature of Language, &c.

THE origin and progress of language is a subject which has been treated by many writers. The learned seem mostly inclined to think, that God put into the minds of our first parents all such words, and a knowledge of their meaning, as might be necessary for their conversation with each other. They represent, that the allowing them to be made sociable creatures, implies necessarily that they were in actual possession of all words instantly to communicate a variety of sentiments. But I confess I do not see this consequence to be a necessary one. They began life, I apprehend, without any stock of actual knowledge: they acquired it gradually, and by like advances came to think of, and form words, to signify what they wanted to name, and converse upon. The allowing them to be able to do this, as early, and as variously as they wanted it,

and to improve it, as fast as their knowledge increased; answers every social demand we can suppose, as fully, and more naturally, than to imagine them full of innate words before they had acquired the sentiments, or observation of the things, which were to be intended by such words. But as I have at different times treated this subject, I do not see it needful now to add any thing to clear it.[a] As to the opinion of some writers, that our first parents' minds were filled with original words, which expressed (what they could not otherwise know) the very nature of things, so as to enable them to speak, and thence to think philosophically of them; and that the Hebrew was originally a language of this sort —it is romantic and irrational. That there are words of a sound corresponding to what the ear hears, when the object denoted by them is presented to us, is unquestionable; and the proper use of words of this sort is

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[a] Connect. vol. i. b. ii. vol. ii. b. ix. See the following treatise, chap. iii.

thought an elegance in many writers. It is remarked, that Virgil has thrown the sound of the thing he writes of, sometimes over a whole line; thus, in the following verse, he is observed to sound, as it were, the trumpet he speaks of,

> Ære ciere viros martemque accendere cantu.
>
> VIRG. Æn. lib. 6.

And, in another place, to express the very beat of the horses' feet on the ground where he supposes them to move,

> Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.
>
> Id. Æn. lib. 8.

Homer's—πολυ φλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης sounds to the ear both the hollow roar of the rising wave, and the crash of its waters breaking upon the shore. Single words may sometimes affect the ear in like manner. The Hebrew word רוח [ruach], which signifies wind, may seem to sound the rushing noise made by that element; and many like instances might be collected from divers languages; but will any one say, that the phi-

losophical nature of the things thus described, is in any wise indicated, by any word, part, or the whole of any such description? Words are but sounds; and it is easy to conceive, how, by arbitrary agreement, different sounds may come to denote such things as are intended to be meant by them; but to say that any particular sound has a necessary connexion or relation to the essence or nature of one particular thing more than another, is a confusion we could not fall into, if we did not overlook some particular in the train of thinking, which leads us into it. Allowing that the word *create* denotes the producing things out of nothing; *Creator* may signify Him who made all things, and is God. But the word can have no such reference from any thing in the nature of it; except merely from its being first established, that to *create* shall be the sound to signify this act of making things to exist. From such known designation, ברא *bara*, in Hebrew; *creavit* in Latin; any other word in any other language appointed to denote the exercise of

this act of power, shall equally have this signification; and, without such appointment, no one sound can have it, in the nature of things, more than another. The manner in which Adam and Eve were brought into the world, duly considered, will lead us to suitable thoughts concerning the rise and improvement of their language. If it could be conceived that they instantly talked copiously about all things, before time and experience had taught them to know them; there would be reason to think that they had words for such conversation not of their own inventing. But Moses hints nothing of this nature; nay, the very contrary appears most plainly throughout his narration. Accordingly many expressions occur in his Hebrew, of which, I apprehend, the following words, *the Lord is a man of war*, may be one instance;[b] which hint,

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[b] יהוה איש מלחמה. Exod. xv. 3. I may say of this expression, as also of another, which occurs later, wherein God is represented like *a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine*, Psal. lxxix. 65, that nei-

that in the most early times, the expressions used had their rise not from any innate sentiments of the nature of things, nor from innate words concerning them, further than what men had felt, seen, or heard, and agreeably thereto conceived and understood of them. With respect to such words as God was pleased to speak to our first parents in the beginning of their lives; I have considered what, I think, must be admitted concerning them.[c] That names formed from words agreed to signify qualities of things, may denote the nature of the things so named, so far as to inform us, that they are reputed to have the qualities expressed by the

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ther of them can be supposed to express any thing of the nature of the power of God. Rather, human imagination, struck with the terror of a man of war coming forth armed to battle; or of the terrible fury of a giant, awakened, and refreshed with wine, furnished the ideas which occasioned these expressions. Other words, very different, would have been used, had a natural description of the tremendous power of God, terrible in majesty, infinitely beyond what these words convey to us, been at all intended.

[c] See hereafter, chap. ii.

words which are given as names to them, may reasonably be allowed.[d] If I know that *Nabal* in *Hebrew* signifies *to be of no value or moment;* I may possibly conclude, that a man called by that name is one of that character:[e] but had any other word than *Nabal* been the *verb* to signify the having this character, the sound *Nabal* might have conveyed a very different *idea* to me. It is the same respecting all other circumstances of things, which their names can hint to us. If *terra* be the allowed word to signify *earth;* the saying that a person is *terrestris*, may denote that he is *earthy;* but had the first agreed *idea* annexed to *terra*, been what we call *heaven*, it is evident that nothing in nature would have prevented *terrestris* from having a signification opposite to what is now understood by it. What a learned writer very clearly thought upon this subject, he has expressed as intelligibly. "There is," he says, "between sounds and things no re-

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[d] See Connect. vol. ii. b. ix.

[e] 1 Sam. xxv. 25. Connect. ibid.

lation:[f] words signify things, from no other than the arbitrary agreement of men: it is evident that language is not natural, but instituted:"—" that the human organs being admirably fitted for the formation of articulate sounds; these, with the help of reason, might in time lead men to the use of language—; I own it is imaginable that they might."[g] The judicious author, I think, after all this, would not have imagined, that without an inspiration of language from God, mankind might have lived a series of generations without having a sufficient use of it; if he had happened to consider the steps and gradual progress in which Moses represents our first parents coming into their knowledge of themselves and the world.[h]

The reader will find in the following sheets, that I have had great assistance from Mr. Pope's very excellent Essay upon Man. The poet himself confesses, that he could not have expressed his thoughts with

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[f] See Revelation examined with Candour, vol. i. p. 36.
[g] Ibid. p. 37. [h] Ibid. p. 51—61.

that force and conciseness in prose, as he could in verse.[i] With respect to myself, I am sure, that I should have deprived the reader of a pleasure, and the subject of an advantage, had I used only my own language: what

I *oft* had *thought*

would have come far short of being

so well express'd;

I wish I could have had the like assistance of this powerful pen for some other sentiments, which I have endeavoured to defend; but in these I have ventured to desert the poet, thinking that he has some lines, which require correction. Speaking of the primæval state of mankind, he seems to represent that their only guidance had been the light of nature. He says,

The state of nature was the reign of God.[k]

He in no wise supposes that man, in his

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[i] See what the author says in the design of the poem.

[k] Pope's Essay upon Man, Ep. iii. ver. 147.

first estate, began his being under the especial direction of a revelation; but, rather, that

> To copy instinct then was reason's part.[l]

And he sends our early progenitors to learn arts and sciences from the animal world, sooner than we can think the animal world could be so considered as to afford them this knowledge.[m] In like manner, he appears to think, that sacrifices of the living

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[l] Pope's Essay upon Man, Ep. iii. ver. 171.

[m] Solomon, indeed, bids his sluggard *go to the ant, consider her ways, and be wise*, Prov. vi. 6. And it is natural to think, that Solomon, who had searched deep into nature, (see 1 Kings iv. 33,) should offer this instruction. But to think that mankind had not sought out many inventions; but were without work, device, and contrivance of their own, until they had observed the instinct of the creatures, is extremely improbable. That he, who "primus per artem movit agros," (Virgil); "learned of the mole to plough," (Pope's Essay, ver. 178); or that Cain formed the plan or building of his city, Enoch, (Gen. iv. 17,) from any observations of the bee, her little cells, lodgements, and structures, is a wild imagination: and, I dare say, had

creatures were not offered in the first times. He represents, that "the shrine" was now "with gore unstained,"[n] that "unbloody stood the harmless priest."[o] He has these and some other sentiments in the third epistle, which, to me, do not seem entirely to accord with other parts of his poem. If I might guess from one maxim hinted

> — go, and thus o'er all the creatures sway,
> Thus let the wiser make the rest obey;[p]

he seems to suppose, that a superior under-

Solomon had no ships to send to Ophir, until men had learned

> of the little Nautilus to sail,
> Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale,
>
> POPE'S Essay, ver. 179.

he would have brought no gold to Jerusalem. Men had invented a great many arts of their own, before they could observe what, in any wise, corresponded with them in the creatures: though we may perhaps well allow, that when they thus came to look from themselves to the creatures, reflections might arise to teach them to correct art by nature, and to add to their own inventions a regularity and improvement which otherwise they might not have thought of.

[n] Pope's Essay, ver. 157. [o] Ver. 158.

[p] Ver. 195, 196.

standing gives a right of dominion; a thought diffused so largely in the [q]imagi-

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[q] Lord Bolingbroke hints to us, that "the author of nature has mingled among the societies of men, a few, and but a few of those, on whom he is graciously pleased to bestow a larger proportion of the ethereal spirit, than is given in the ordinary course of his providence to the sons of men. These are they, who ingross almost the whole reason of the species; who are born to instruct, to guide, and to preserve; who are designed to be the tutors and the guardians of human kind." See Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism, p. 10. I am at a loss what to say of this random sentiment. It seems to me to want more explication, and the application of it to be guarded and regulated, beyond what one would expect of any thing said by a wise man. If the ethereal genii of the age happen in any country not to have either the reins of government, nor the chair, seat, or bench, to guide, direct, and give law to mankind; and surely many of them often have not; and I can apprehend it sometimes for the good of the world that they have not; there is a far more useful principle to be thought of, than that these wise should try to make the rest obey; namely, that every one should study to be quiet, and mind his own business, in the duties of that station in life which happens to belong to him. It must undoubtedly be a great blessing to the world, when those, who have the power over others, are the truly wise; but the happiness of mankind can never have

nation of his admired statesman, whom he stiles

His friend, his genius ——
—— Master of the poet, and the song,[r]

that I should think, much of what we find

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any permanency, unless those, who cannot attain what they happen to think their genius most fit for, know how to govern themselves wisely, and be patterns to others to teach them the same thing. These ethereal gentlemen, acting otherwise, have often occasioned great convulsions in the world; and many times, when they get that power for which they strive, and make the rest obey; they are neither the public blessing they think, nor perhaps do they perform any great and real good even to themselves. Our author's sentiment seems no better, than a not well digested refinement of a notion found amongst the heathen disputants; viz. that mankind are born, some with endowments to rule and govern, others with capacities fit for servitude only: that where the rulers of states find such, as, though born for servitude, will not submit to it; a war upon these is but a lawful hunting, to take men, as we do, by a like exercise, the beasts of the field, to sort and reduce them to their proper application. Nimrod was perhaps a mighty hunter of this sort, and hereby raised himself to a kingdom, Gen. x. 9. But how far any thing of this nature can be useful or right, I shall submit to further consideration.

[r] Pope's Essay, Ep. iv. ver. 363.

from about the 147th line of the third epistle, to the 216th, was written upon anecdotes given to the poet, and in respect to him, who gave them, well ornamented; but they have not that firmness and stability, which can be given to nothing but what is true. It would be going absolutely from the subject, in which I am engaged, to examine all Mr. Pope's positions, which might be here stated. One of them, indeed, I am more particularly concerned in, namely, the Origin of Sacrifices. I have supposed that sacrifices of the living creatures had been appointed from the time of our first parents transgression; and what I have offered upon this topic has been replied to at large. hope I shall not mispend a few pages, if endeavour to clear this matter.

SECTION VI.

The Origin and Use of Sacrifices.—The Nature and Design of that Sacrifice offered by Abel.—Apology for the Mistakes into which the Author may have fallen in this Work, or in his Connexions.

IT is argued, that sacrifices of the living creatures were not made in the most early ages: that they did not commence until after mankind had eaten flesh: that we need not imagine they had their rise from a positive command of God; for, from the weakness in human nature, we may suppose, that mankind might invent this service, without any command enjoining the use of it. All these points have been treated by a very ingenious writer;[a] an answer to whom will, I hope, be a sufficient reply to all that can be objected upon this topic. And my answer

[a] See Philemon to Hydaspes, letter v.

hereto is, that Abel, unquestionably, offered a sacrifice of an animal or living creature; that he did it in obedience to a command of God; and, consequently, that the origin of this institution was not of human contrivance.

I. Abel, I say, offered a sacrifice of a living creature: *Abel*, Moses tells us, *brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof.*[b] This offering was made before the 130th year of the world,[c] and is indeed the first sacrifice which the scripture mentions. That Abel's was a sacrifice of a living creature, may, I think, be proved, both from Moses' express account of it, and from what is said upon it by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.

Moses' account begins with the offering of Cain: *Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord.*[d] It is plain, that nothing animate was intended in

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[b] Gen. iv. 4. [c] Adam was but 130 when Seth was born, after Abel was killed, Gen. v. 3.

[d] Gen. iv. 3.

Cain's oblation: it was an offering of corn or herbs, the produce of the ground, and of nothing more. And it will be observed, that it is accordingly called *minchah*;[e] the word often used for a meat-offering or oblation of things inanimate, in distinction to the sacrifice of a living creature.[f] But *Abel brought of the firstlings of his flock, and the fat thereof*: the words which follow are to be observed: *and the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his* offering;[g] the text says, *ve æl minchatho*:[h] so that the word *minchah* is here also used, to speak of Abel's offering, as it was of Cain's. Wherein then did they differ? or why should we think that Abel's offering was a sacrifice of a living creature, when it is thus hinted to be a minchah? The learned are herein very diligent to exert themselves. Grotius observes, that the

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[e] יבא קין מפרי האדמה מנחה ליהוה

[f] See Levit. ii. 1, 4, 5, 15. vii. 9, 10. xiv. 10. xxx. 16. Numb. xv. 3—6. xxviii. 5. et sexcent. al. in loc.

[g] Gen. iv. 4.

[h] The Hebrew words are ואל־מנחתו.

word we render *the fat thereof*,[i] may signify *the milk thereof*, and thinks that Abel did not sacrifice a lamb; but, perhaps, only some wool and cream, of the lactage, and growth of the *firstlings of his flock*.[k] I answer, learned men will seem to say something for any singularity they have a mind to support; and Grotius is remarkable in this particular. But it is observable, that he lays the stress of what he would argue, upon explaining a word not material to the argument; but says nothing upon some other words, on which the true meaning of the place most absolutely turns. The word which we translate *fat*, may signify *milk*, or must be rendered *fat*, as the sense and context, when it is used, require; but the words here to be principally considered are, *of the firstlings of his flock*.[l] The *firstling* or *firstlings* of *beasts*, of *cattle*, of *the herd*, or of *the flock*, are expressions very common

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[i] Annot. in loc. [k] Grotius observes, that these had been thought very ancient sacrifices by the heathen writers. Ibid. [l] מבכרת צאנו. Gen. iv. 4.

in Moses;[m] and the question is, whether, wherever he speaks of an *offering of firstlings*, he means any thing but an offering of the living creatures so called? Whether, in Moses' language, had Abel offered only *wool*, and *milk* or *cream*, the expression must not have been, he brought of the *wool*, *milk* or *cream*, of the *firstlings of his flock an offering to the Lord?* And, whether, supposing the word which we render *fat*, may signify *milk*, the words of Moses here used, he *brought of the firstlings of his flock, and the* milk *thereof*, would not have denoted, that he brought both the living creatures, and their *milk* too? But a further question is, whether *firstlings* were ever reckoned, except by the males only?[n] If they were reckoned thus only, our learned annotators mistake most ridiculously. Abel, I apprehend, brought of his *young rams* unto the Lord; and the *lactage* of his rams —; our

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[m] Lev. xxvii. 26. Numb. xviii. 15. Deut. xv. 19, Numb. iii. 41. Deut. xii. 6. xiv. 23, &c.

[n] See Exod. xiii. 12.

learned disputants would be as well fed, as they would teach us, if they had nothing else to eat, till they gave up this absurdity. In a word, Moses' expression can in no wise signify any thing else, but that Abel brought a living animal of his flock an offering unto the Lord. For,

With respect to Abel's offering being called a *minchah*, it is easy to be accounted for. The word *minchah* is, indeed, often used *sacrifically* to denote an *inanimate offering*, in opposition to the *sacrifice of a living creature;* but it has likewise a more general acceptation. It is the word used of Jacob's *present* to his brother Esau;[o] and, again, for the *present* sent out of Canaan to Joseph.[p] It is well translated, when used in this sense, by the Greek word Δῶρον, a gift: the apostle thus renders it:[q] in this general sense it is, and may be used of all sacrifices both *animate* and *inanimate;* for every sacrifice is, in this sense, a *minchah*,

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[o] Gen. xxxii. 13, 19. [p] Gen. xliii. 10.

[q] Heb. xi. 4. ἐπὶ τοῖς Δῶροις αὐτοῦ.

Δῶρον, *a gift, or present* unto the Lord; though every *minchah* or gift, is not a sacrifice of a living creature.*

Having thus far shewn, that Moses must be understood as expressing Abel's offering to be of a living creature; I come now to consider, that the apostle plainly tells us, that this was his meaning. The writer of

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* The truth is, Abel made two offerings to the Lord, at the same time. One was the *minchah*, or thanksgiving offering, by which he acknowledged God as the Creator and Preserver. The other was an animal for a *sin* offering, by which he acknowledged his sinful state, the need he had of an expiatory victim, and his *faith* in the coming Redeemer. Hence the apostle says, *Abel, by faith, offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain:*—and God *testified of his gifts,* τοῖς δώροις· *i. e.* both the *minchah* and *sin* offering. Cain, not having faith in the coming Saviour, acted simply as a Deist, and offered only the *minchah*, or *thank-offering*, to God, without either a consciousness of sin, or faith in the promised atonement; therefore his offering was not accepted. Dr. Kennicott has handled this subject in a masterly manner, in a work entitled, Two Dissertations, 1. On the Tree of Life; 2. On the Oblations of Cain and Abel, 8vo. Oxon. 1747, to which I beg leave to refer the reader. EDIT.

the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us, that Abel's offering was θυσία, *i. e.* the oblation of a creature slain.[r] I laid great stress upon the inspired writer's using this term.[s] I am answered, that it is notorious, that the word θυσία is several times used in scripture for an *inanimate* oblation. And the ingenious writer, above mentioned, cites, for his assertion, Lev. ii. 1.[t] Undoubtedly he might have cited many other passages. His mistake is, in citing the Septuagint translation for scripture; not considering that these trans-

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[r] θυσίαν Ἄβελ προσηνέγκε, Heb. xi. 4. I might, I think, here observe, that the apostle elsewhere expressly calls Abel's offering *an offering of blood*. Alluding to the blood of Christ, by whose death we have the forgiveness of sins, he says, *ye are come——to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel*, Heb. xii. 24. ——*that of Abel*; he does not mean Abel's blood, or the blood shed by the death of Abel; for Abel's death was no sacrifice for sin; but the blood which Abel offered in his θυσία, or sacrifice, though accepted by God, as he had commanded it, was but a shadow in comparison of the sacrifice of Christ.

[s] See Connect. vol. i. b. ii.

[t] Phil. to Hydasp. letter v. p. 32.

lators, not being infallible, might err in their translation. The translators of the Septuagint were extremely careless in their use of this word. They render the third verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, ἤνεγκεν Κάϊν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ. Here they call Cain's offering, which is described and allowed to be *of the fruits of the ground* only, θυσίαν, a *sacrifice* or *mactation*. But then it is to be remarked, that the apostle herein particularly corrects them, removes the word θυσίαν, misapplied by them, and uses it of Abel's sacrifice only, and not of Cain's offering.[u] The inspired writers of the New Tes-

[u] I would take away all possible ambiguity, that can be supposed in the apostle's expression; and would, therefore, observe, that should any one imagine that the apostle's words are elliptical, that the words may be taken, *by faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain's, i. e.* sacrifice: that the word θυσίαν may as well be understood at the end of the period, as inserted in the beginning. I answer, it is impossible so to construe the apostle, his words being, πίστει πλείονα θυσίαν Ἄβελ παρὰ Κάϊν προσήνεγκε. Were this the meaning, it should be παρὰ τὸν Κάϊν· but we say, *a more excellent* sacrifice; where do we find πλείονα to signify *more excel-*

tament are known generally to cite the Old Testament, according to the Septuagint version; and where they do so, it is evident they did not think the expression import-

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lent? *Things that are more excellent*, are called τὰ διαφέροντα, Rom. ii. 18. Phil. i. 10. *A more excellent way is*, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν, 1 Cor. xii. 31. *A more excellent name* is, διαφορώτερον ὄνομα, Heb. i. 4. and *a more excellent ministry* is, διαφορωτέρας λειτουργίας, Heb. viii. 6. But πλείων signifies *more*, *amplior*, says Stephens, Concord. Græco-Lat. Nov. Testam. And to its here having this signification agrees what follows: Abel brought θυσίαν πλείονα παρὰ Κάϊν. The preposition παρὰ is used in the New Testament to signify *præter*, *besides*, *more than*, *over and above*. Thus St. Paul, guarding the Galatians against receiving the observances of the Jewish law, superadded to the Christian religion, most solemnly warns them, not to receive any thing that should be preached to them, παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, or παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, Gal. i. 8, 9. They were to receive no doctrines, as gospel, *more than*, *over and above*, what St. Paul had preached to them. And thus Abel's θυσίαν was πλείονα παρὰ Κάϊν. Cain had offered only inanimate gifts: Abel had offered these also; for these often accompanied the burnt-offering: but Abel's θυσία was something *over* and *besides* these, it was the *mactation* of an animal. And in the not having this added, Cain came short of what ought to have been done by him.

antly faulty. But when, in any particular passage, an apostle thus remarkably varies and corrects the diction of the Septuagint, ought we not to think he observed an impropriety, and designed to amend it? θυσία is in many places of the Septuagint version used to signify *inanimate* offerings; but the Septuagint were not inspired writers, and therefore ought to stand corrected by those who were. The word θυσία occurs frequently in the New Testament. But although, after the legal sacrifices of the Old Testament were done away, the sacred writers of the New adopted the word θυσία, using it in a *spiritual sense*, to express the making our *bodies a living sacrifice*;[w] to represent our *charity* as being *a sacrifice acceptable unto God*;[x] to exhort to offer *the sacrifice of praise*,[y]—*&c.* I say, although, after animal sacrifices had ceased, the one real sacrifice being offered, which alone could take away sin;[z] inspired writers did use the word θυσία

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[w] Rom. xii. 1.
[x] Phil. iv. 18.
[y] Heb. xiii. 15.
[z] See Heb. x.

in a *spiritual* sense, to signify our giving ourselves up to perform many of the commanded duties of the Christian religion, sacrificing ourselves in them truly to *serve* God *in spirit and in truth;* yet, I think, they did not use the term θυσία of any sacrifices of the Old Testament, but of such only, wherein there was the shedding of blood;[a]

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[a] See Matth. ix. 13. xii. 7. Luke ii. 24. xiii. 1. Acts vii. 41, 42. 1 Cor. x. 18. Heb. v. 1, vii, 27. viii. 3. ix. 9, &c. I know but one place in the New Testament, where θυσία may seem to be used of an *inanimate* offering of the law; where our Saviour says, *every sacrifice* (πᾶσα θυσία, are the words of the Evangelist,) *shall be salted with salt*, Mark ix. 49. The law here referred to, is Levit. ii. 13. which may be thought to be the law of the meat-offering. But I would observe, that the text in Leviticus first provides, that the meat-offering, which was indeed *inanimate*, should be salted. But having ordered this, it adds further, *with all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt*. The word for thine offerings is קרבנך, a word used of a sacrifice of an animal, Numb. xxviii. 2. as קרבן הבהמה, Levit. i. 2. So that the text provides, first, that all offerings inanimate shall be salted; and then further, that salt shall be also used in all sacrifices; and the word θυσία is used by St. Mark, referring to the law given in the latter part of the verse.

preserving it an allowed truth of all revealed religion from the beginning of the world, that *without shedding of blood* there had been *no* declared *remission of sin* —.

II. The second point I am to consider is, that Abel's offering his sacrifice, was in obedience to some divine command, some explicit injunction given by God. And, I confess, that to me a most unanswerable argument that it was so, is Abel's being said by the apostle, to have made his offering *by faith*, Heb. xi. I have already argued, that *the faith*, concerning which the apostle wrote this chapter, supposes in all the instances he gives some express declaration or direction from God, the believing and paying obedience to which is *the faith* set forth and recommended to us.[b] I have shewn that this was the fact in the case of Rahab, when she entertained the spies at Jericho.[c] My ingenious adversary thinks otherwise;[d] but with how little reason, I must entirely submit to

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[b] Connect. vol. i. b. ii. [c] Vol. iii. b. xii.

[d] See Phil. to Hydasp. letter v. p. 39.

the reader's impartial consideration. He would argue about Enoch, as he reasons about Rahab.[e] He supposes that Enoch obtained his translation to heaven, not upon account of his receiving and believing any particular declaration by an express revelation from God, but upon account of the general tenor and conduct of his life; that he was a man of eminent virtue, faithfully attached to perfect holiness in the fear of God, assuring himself, that he should have a reward for thus doing. I answer, had the hopes of Enoch been only the general and rational expectations arising from a moral life; he had not been herein in any wise above others eminent for *faith*, which is not an act of mind paying regard to arguments arising from considering what may appear intrinsically, without external testimony, to be in reason true; but *faith cometh by hearing*;[f] *faith* is the believing something that is testified or declared to us.[g] Accordingly,

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[e] Phil. to Hydasp. letter v. p. 39.

[f] Rom. x. 17. [g] Vide quæ sup.

the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, who observes, concerning Enoch, that *he pleased God and was translated*, does not ascribe his being translated, to his being more and above others a man of a righteous or moral life; but tells us he was made *an example of repentance unto all generations.*[h] We should perfectly understand what is here suggested, if we may say a special revelation was made to Enoch, that men should have life for ever in another world, if they sought it *believing, through his name*, by repentance, to *receive remission of sins.*[i] If Enoch embraced and testified unto others *this faith*, and it pleased God to confirm unto the world, that what he had declared by Enoch, was true; by granting to Enoch not to *die and fall like other men*, but, without *tasting death*, to be received to the life to come which was published, and by him believed, and declared according to the word of God, made known to him; herein we shew that Enoch has been literally, according to the words of the

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[h] Ecclus. xliv. 16. [i] See Acts x. 43.

author of Ecclesiasticus, set forth *an example of repentance unto all generations:* and as clearly according to the full meaning of the apostle's expression, *by faith*, believing and doing according to what had been especially revealed to him, *was translated that he should not see death.*[k]

There is no point upon which many able and very learned writers appear more fondly mistaken, than in not truly stating the doctrine of *faith*, according to the scriptures. It is a favourite notion with them to divide the states in which mankind have been, into that of natural religion, and that of the gospel. They call the state of *creation*, or *natural religion*, the *dispensation of the Father; the state of the gospel*, the *dispensation of the Son* of God; and they argue, that the former, *natural religion*, is a *necessary preparation* for the latter.[l] But herein they certainly introduce a language

[k] Heb. xi. 5.

[l] The reader may see this way of thinking fully stated by the late Dr. Samuel

very different from the scriptures. To *come unto God*, to *seek God*, to *walk with God*; all these, and other like expressions, in their scripture-meaning, signify, to accede to that law which is *from* God's *mouth*, to *lay up his words in our hearts*; to live according to what God has revealed and commanded;[m] the *fearing God*, and *working righteousness* according to what is called natural light, is not what is in scripture designed by those expressions. In like manner, the *dispensation of the Father*, in contradistinction to the *dispensation of the Son*, must be the revelation of the Old Testament, as distinguished from the revelation in the New. Our blessed Saviour's exhortation to his disciples was, that, as they had *believed in God*, so *also* they would *believe in* him:[n] And the enforcing this particular duty, is the great intent of the whole Epistle to the Hebrews.

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[m] See Job v. 8. Psal. cv. 4, 5. Isa. lviii. 2. viii. 19, 20. Deut. viii. 6. 2 Kings xxiii. 3, &c. Job xxii. 22.

[n] John xiv. 1.

God at sundry times, and in divers manners, had spoken to their fathers.[o] Here now is the dispensation of the Father, which the scriptures recognise; from whence the apostle endeavours to lead them to the dispensation of the Son; to what, *in these last days*, God *hath spoken to us by his Son*,[p] that they should *take the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard*, not to *neglect* the *great salvation which began to be spoken by the Lord himself, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost.*[q] He observed to them, that, in obeying Moses, they had not refused one, who spake to them on earth. He exhorts them now, agreeably hereto, not to *refuse him* who spake to them *from heaven*.[r] In a word, the whole design of this epistle is to set forth to the Hebrews, that *faith* had

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[o] Heb. i. 1.
[p] Ver. 2.
[q] Heb. ii. 1—3.
[r] Heb. xii. 25.

always come by *hearing;* that the foundation of all revealed religion had in all ages been, the receiving and believing the word of God; and the intent of the eleventh chapter is to set before us a cloud of witnesses or examples of this fact. Now, to suppose that any one instance given by the apostle in this chapter was intended to hint any other *faith*, than the belief of some explicit revelation; is to suppose that the apostle has deviated from his argument to something entirely foreign, if not opposite to it.

But it will be here asked; what proof, or shadow of proof, can we bring of Enoch's having had any express revelation from God? I answer, 1. We are informed that Enoch prophesied of the judgment to come, *that the Lord would come with thousands of his saints*—&c.[s] 2. Moses informs us, that in Enoch's days *men began to call upon the name of the Lord.*[t] Upon which words I

[s] See Jude 14, 15. [t] Gen. iv. 26.

would observe, 1. That the expression in this place means, that at this time began the distinction of mankind's being called, some the *sons of God*, others the *sons of men*.[u] 2. I have indeed observed, that the words, *kara beshem Jehovah*, was an expression used concerning Abraham and his descendants, and signified that *they invoked* God, *in the name of the Lord who* had *appeared* to *Abraham*.[w] But I do not think that this

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[u] See Connect. vol. i. b. i.

[w] See Connect. vol. i. b. v. I have been told that I must be thought to err in giving this particular interpretation of the words *kara beshem*. It is said, that the xviiith chapter of the first book of Kings, ver. 26, shews, that the expression signifies to *call on the name*. The priests of Baal, we are there told, [לאמר הבעל ענו ויקראו בשם־הבעל,] *called upon the name of Baal, saying, O Baal! hear us*. Are we not here told plainly, that their saying, *O Baal! hear us*, was their calling upon the name of Baal? Why then must *karean beshem Baal* be any thing more than they *called upon the name of Baal*? I answer; we are here easily misled by our rendering [leamor] *saying*; had the participle been here used [aomarim] *dicentes*, there would have been

expression had been thus used before the days of Abraham.[x] 3. A very learned and judicious writer observes, and gives instances that the word *hochal*,[y] which we translate *began*, may signify *had hope*;[z] and he remarks, that the Septuagint so understood and translated it. ἑτος ἤλπισεν επικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. To Enoch, then,

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a greater plea for what is objected to me. But the infinitive mood, with *le* prefixed, though it may be often rendered by the gerund in *do*, in Latin [leamor] *dicendo*, is also many times to be rendered by the gerund in *dum*, [leamor] *ad dicendum*, see Noldius in Partic. and may signify *to the saying*: when thus used, it implies a proceeding from what was said before, to something further. We often pray unto God in the name of our Saviour; but we often proceed further, and say, *O Christ!* hear us. In this manner, the priests of Baal invoked in the name of Baal, *to the saying*, *i. e.* and proceeded even to pray, *O Baal!* hear us. *Kara shem*, or *kara œl shem*, may signify to *invocate*, or *call upon the name*; but *kara be shem* cannot admit this signification; see Connect. ubi sup.

[x] Connect. vol. ii. b. vii.

[y] See Rutherforth's Essay on Virtue, p. 297.

[z] The Hebrew verb יחל is speravit; desiderio expectavit, &c.

hope was given in his being called by the name of the Lord his God. I can see no reason to reject what this able writer offers upon the text. And we may consider upon it, that the hope was undoubtedly great unto whom it was given to be called by this name. Why ought we not to reason concerning them, as we may of ourselves? *Beloved, what manner of love* was herein *bestowed upon* them, *that* they *should be called the sons of God?*[a] They were *now the sons of God.* Undoubtedly it did *not appear what* they *shall be;* but, as *Enoch prophesied* unto them, *that the Lord cometh, with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment;*—it must be, that all who had this hope of their calling, and held fast the profession of it, knew that *when he shall appear,* they *shall be like him, for* they *shall see him as he is.*[b] *When He, who is* their *life, shall appear,* they *also shall appear with him in glory.*[c] We may surely hence well understand what was

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[a] See 1 John iii. 1. [b] Ver. 2.
[c] See Colloss. iii.

the particular revelation made to Enoch; namely, a revelation of the hope of another world; and the supposing him translated for receiving and embracing this *faith*, and faithfully preaching it to others; himself living *an example of repentance* according to the *tenor* of it, is no more than supposing that God testified in him to the world, that what he had published by him was truth. Enoch was translated A. M. 987, which is 57 years after Adam's death.[d] Enoch was born A. M. 622,[e] above 300 years before the death of Adam. If we may suppose that Enoch had received and preached the revelation of this hope, about the middle of his life-time, we have the grounds for what the reader will find I have offered; namely, that some time before Adam died, God had given the hopes of another world.[f]

III. I have to consider, that sacrifices of

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[d] See the table of the lives and deaths of the antediluvian patriarchs, Connect. vol. i. b. i.

[e] Ibid. [f] See hereafter, p. 229.

the living creatures were not originally the invention of men. The writers who would argue they were such, carry us back to the times of Orpheus, or of some other sage and wise personages about his age, who reformed and civilized the barbarous clans of savage and uncultivated people, who overran the parts adjacent to them. They endeavour to shew us, that the first step they took to humanize the minds of those with whom they conversed, was to endeavour to dissatisfy them with the thoughts of eating the living creatures, and to persuade them, that taking away the life of any thing, must be a violence which could not make the so doing an acceptable sacrifice to God. This, the poet tells us, was the endeavour of Orpheus in particular,

> Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
> Cædibus et fœdo victu deterruit Orpheus,
> Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rapidosque leones.
>
> HOR.

Orpheus is supposed to have lived about the Argonautic times, later than A. M.

2700: but what if he, and all the reformers, such as he was, had lived much earlier? What if, not really knowing the history of the beginning of mankind, they had thought it a reasonable doctrine, very proper to repress and subdue the outrage and violence they saw the earth full of; when men not only destroyed the beasts of the field, but made as free with the lives of one another—? What, I say, if they deemed it a doctrine which might be effectual, in putting an end to these violences, to teach that the gods could not be pleased with blood; that the first sacrifices of mankind, were of the fruits of the earth; or mixtures of oil, milk, and honey; of odoriferous spices, herbs, and gums; of the leaves of trees, of nuts, acorns, and berries; of every thing, which men could offer innocuous, neither doing violence to any thing to which God had given the breath of life, nor to one another? Will it, because these doctrines have in them what is agreeable to the humanity of our nature, and might be thought reason-

able to these men, who first taught these tenets; will it, I say, hence follow, that what a well-warranted history relates as having been fact near 3000 years before, was mere fiction and fable, because it does not accord with what was taught in these so much later times?

If the natural tenderness and regret of human nature against all appearance of barbarity were made use of to shew, how great a consternation it must have been to the first men, at a time when the creatures were not their food;[e] and it could not but

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[e] The writers who would argue that sacrifices of the living creatures had commenced from human institution, would have it, that the eating flesh was before the flood; that the command to Noah, was to regulate, not to give the first liberty to eat flesh: see Philemon to Hydaspes, p. 55, letter v. But what a mere pretence, without shadow of foundation, this is, let any one consider, who will examine what Lamech said at the birth of Noah, Gen. v. 29. If they had eaten flesh as freely before the flood, as after Noah had obtained a grant of it, what *comfort* did they want, or could expect, *con-*

be more natural for them to say of every thing living,

—— vitaque magis quam morte juvatis,
OVID.

When to see it living must have been more agreeable, as well as more useful,[h] than to put it to death; what less than a command from God, whenever they committed a sin, that the sin might not remain, and lie at their door,[i] could have induced them to bring an innocent, and to them innocuous animal, to offer its blood upon account of their own transgression? Time and custom

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cerning their work and toil of their hands, because of the ground which the Lord had cursed?

[h] The heathen poets conceived that some creatures might be sacrificed upon account of their destroying the fruits of the earth, of the vines or trees, or otherwise having been prejudicial to men: see Ovid, Fastor. lib. 1. Metamorph. lib. 15. But nothing of this sort can be imagined to have been Abel's reason for offering of the firstlings of his flock.

[i] See Gen. iv. 7.

may reconcile us to almost any thing; but it is difficult to avoid the reflection, that when mankind came first to this service, it would truly *rend their hearts*, to see as it were death, unto which they knew themselves must one day come; to have displayed before their eyes its pangs and agonies inflicted by themselves on a creature which had no demerit; merely because they had themselves committed some offence against their God:—such a service must cause them both to think upon the victim and upon themselves. As to the suffering animal; how could they avoid asking, what has this sheep done?

> Quid meruistis oves, placidum pecus——
>
> OVID.

Upon themselves they must look with confusion of face, that what flesh and blood would naturally shrink back at, was without mercy to be performed, merely upon account of their misdoings. One would think, that whilst their minds were

tender, (and they ought carefully to have kept them so,) nothing could have been enjoined, which could have been a more affecting rebuke of sin, to raise in them hearty desires, if possible, to sin no more, rather than to come often to repeat a service, in its nature so disagreeable; and to perform deliberately the rites of it. One would think, that not only Cain, but all mankind, would have been glad to have avoided it; if the offering of the fruits of the ground might have been accepted in its stead.

In fact, it appears that sacrifices had been offered thousands of years before any thing which can be cited concerning them from heathen writers was written. And, in truth, nothing can be cited from thence to shew us the reason of them, or their origin. Sacrifices of the living creatures, as in the case of Abel, were made ages before mankind had any thought of eating flesh; and, consequently, none of the weak reasons into which our ingenious writer supposes mankind might fall, to induce them to offer to

the gods in their injudicious way of thinking, part of what they experienced to be sustenance to themselves, could have any place in their mind at all. From what is argued in the New Testament, the first sacrifices in the world came of faith, and were made in obedience to some divine command. It may be apprehended that they were an institution so dehortatory against sin, that even upon this account they would appear a command worthy of God, to creatures who needed to be strongly warned against it. Besides, they bear such a reference to what was afterwards in reality to take away sin, and they might so instructively prepare the world to receive the revelation concerning it, when it should be more fully published, and to lead men to it; that what is said for supposing it a human institution, is frivolous and without foundation. Therefore I may, I think, without further controversy, refer the reader to the reason which I have given of this institution; *viz.* that God having determined what should *in the fulness of time*

be *the propitiation* for the sins of the world; namely, *Christ*, who, *through his own blood, obtained eternal redemption for us*; thought fit, from the time when man became guilty of sin, to appoint creatures to be offered, to represent the true offering, which was afterwards to be made for the sins of all men.[1]

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[1] See Connect. vol. i. b. i. My ingenious adversary, see Philemon to Hydaspes, letter v. p. 31. thinks it not reasonable to suppose that Abel offered sacrifice for any sin of Adam; and would argue from St. Paul's having said, that *sin is not imputed without a law*, Rom. v. 13. that there was no law given in Abel's time, declaring death to be the punishment of any sin, but of the first transgression; and, consequently, that there could be no reason that Abel should offer a sacrifice for any sin of his own. A little observation may both explain St. Paul's meaning, and clear the confusion raised by my antagonist. The apostle thus argues: *As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin*; AND SO (I should render it EVEN SO) *death passed upon all men*, for *that all men have sinned: for until the law, sin was in the world.* The point to be observed is, that the scriptures conclude *all men under sin*, Gal. iii. 21. and affirm, that *there is no man on earth that sinneth not*, 1 Kings viii. 46. This, therefore,

I have here endeavoured very largely a reply to what has been objected to me upon this subject, as I thought it required a full

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being an allowed truth, that sin was in the world until the law; that from Adam unto Moses, not Adam and Eve only, but every individual of their descendants had actual sins of their own, the apostle reasons, that there can be no injustice pretended that ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, that *in Adam all die*, 1 Cor. xv. 22. ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον· Rom. v. 12: not *in whom* all sinned, as our marginal reference would correct our version; for, had this been intended, it would have been ἐν ᾧ, like ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐφ' ᾧ is *eo quod, in that*, or *because*. *As by one man*, says the apostle, *sin entered into the world, and death by sin*, καὶ οὕτως —— *even so, in like manner*; *i. e. as deservedly death hath passed upon all men*. The foundation of which reasoning is plain: for *death* being *the wages of sin*, and all men having done the works of our first parents, having actually sinned as well as they, we not only receive in dying, but by our sins deserve the same wages. Having thus stated this point, the apostle proceeds to consider an objection. *But sin*, says he, *is not imputed, where there is no law; nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression*: Rom. v. 13, 14. The apostle's argument is so clear, I wonder it can be mistaken. He

consideration. I would as freely defend or retract any thing I have written, which other writers have thought wrong, if I ap-

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allows, that *sin is not imputed where there is no law:* which, indeed, is exactly what he elsewhere says, *where no law is, there is no transgression:* Rom. iv. 15. For, as St. John observes, *sin is the transgression of* a *law:* 1 John iii. 4. Nevertheless, says he, notwithstanding all that may thus be reasoned, and although none like our parents have eaten of the forbidden tree; yet death hath reigned from Adam down to Moses; all have received the wages of sin, and therefore, in fact, all have sinned: and, consequently, as there would have been no sin, had there been no law; there certainly has been a law, which all men, every one, has in many instances failed of living up to; and, in these failures, every man living, or that has lived, has had actual sin. Thus the apostle's argument concludes directly contrary to my ingenious correspondent. Abel had sin as well as all other men; but he would have had no sin, if he had not lived under some law; therefore he lived under the law of some revelation which appointed sacrifice for sin. And upon sinning, that his *sin* might *not remain* and *lie at his door*, believing and obeying what God had commanded, he offered his sacrifice, and therein, *by faith*, obtained forgiveness of sin.

If it were not foreign to the point before us to proceed

prehended it alike material. But where I think myself only misrepresented, or a controversy to be rather sought for, than to be of any service to truth, I wish to enjoy si-

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to the context, we might refute by it a calumny of Lord Bolingbroke against Eve; who says, she damned her children before she bare them: Study of History, letter iii. p. 109. His lordship in no wise understood, how, *not as the offence* in *Adam, so also is the free gift* in *Christ:* Rom. v. 15. *In Adam,* indeed, *all died*; and *so in Christ shall all be made alive:* 1 Cor. xv. 22. But we shall not only be made alive; this might be given us, and we might live unto condemnation for our own sins. But the *free gift aboundeth* in the forgiveness *of many offences unto justification of life:* Rom. v. 16—18, &c.; and thus Eve damned none of her children; for there was no necessity, that *any should* thus terribly *perish.* All were to *live again*; and to as many as would truly strive to obtain it, *power* was given *to become the sons of God,* to live unto honour, to glory, and eternal happiness. But this is not the only instance of this unhappy writer's most unwarrantable rashness. How dogmatically he can abuse even the scriptures, not really knowing them, must be very evident to any one who will read Mr. Hervey's most excellent remarks on Lord Bolingbroke's letters; a treatise worth every one's attentive consideration.

lence and quiet, rather than trouble the world with an altercation which can be of no use. In some small points the reader may observe that I have varied from myself. When I began my Connection, I too hastily concluded, that *God appeared to Cain.*[m] I thought this a mistake, when I wrote my second volume;[n] and, in the ensuing treatise, have followed what I apprehended, upon second examination, to be true.[o] Yet I let my error stand in later editions of my first volume, as I at first printed it; and shall do the same thing, where I differ in this treatise from what I formerly conceived to be the situation of the garden of Eden.[p] I would not, by having written, be prevented from growing wiser; but hope that the alterations of what I have written, may not be necessarily very many. However, if I should live and have health to

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[m] Connect. vol. i. b. i. p. 2.
[n] See vol. ii. b. ix. p. 460.
[o] See hereafter, p. 41.
[p] Connect. vol. i. b. i. See hereafter, chap. viii.

finish my Connection, they may be collected and referred to in a page by themselves; and the whole of what is printed, continuing as it is, I may shew that I am at least just to the world, in not printing new editions of any works of mine, which may depreciate any former ones.

The chief point enquired into in the ensuing treatise, is, indeed, the direct opposite to what I see stated by the author whom I have often cited. "If we consider," says he, "the order of the sciences in their rise and progress, the first place belongs to natural philosophy, the mother of them all, or the trunk, the tree of knowledge, out of which, and in proportion to which, like so many branches they all grow."[q] The scriptures, I think, teach otherwise: the first information which man had, came from hearing the word of God;[r]

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[q] Lord Bolingbroke's Letters to Sir William Wyndham, and to Mr. Pope, p. 466.

[r] Gen. ii. 15, 16. See the ensuing treatise, chapters iv. v.

and the first error, which came into the world, arose from our first parents' opposing their first philosophy to it.[a] Their thought was indeed low and mean, not deserving to be called philosophy; but it was the supposed science of the day, and they ventured to be led by it, contrary to what God had commanded. If we proceed, the scriptures shew us, wherein the word of God was to be to man the ground of truth; and how human science, falsely so called, opposed to it, has been, and may still be, the root of all error. The rightly determining how far we ought to begin under the guidance of faith; and wherein, and how, we may proceed to add knowledge to it; to prove and examine whether we be in the truth, in contradistinction to what some contend, that we must begin in knowledge, and hereby become perfect, is the one question; which, rightly stated and examined, will, according to what we determine concerning it, incline

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[a] Ibid. chap. ix. See chap. v. vii.

us either to deism, or to embrace and see the reason of the revelation set before us in the scriptures. Concerning these, with regard to myself, I will venture to say, that I have studied them, not, as Lord Bolingbroke imputes to us, in order (*i. e.* right or wrong determined) to believe: but the more impartially I examine, I find more and more reason to believe them to be true. Accordingly, although I am a clergyman, I am verily persuaded, that I believe and profess in matters of religion nothing, but what, if I were a layman, I should believe and profess the same. His lordship says of the clergy, in his round and large manner of affirming, that "in natural religion the clergy are unnecessary; in revealed, they are dangerous guides."[t] How far any will be guided by me, I hope I shall always know myself so well, as to leave that to their own choice. As to the inutility of my enquiries, and also the impartiality of them; here I confess

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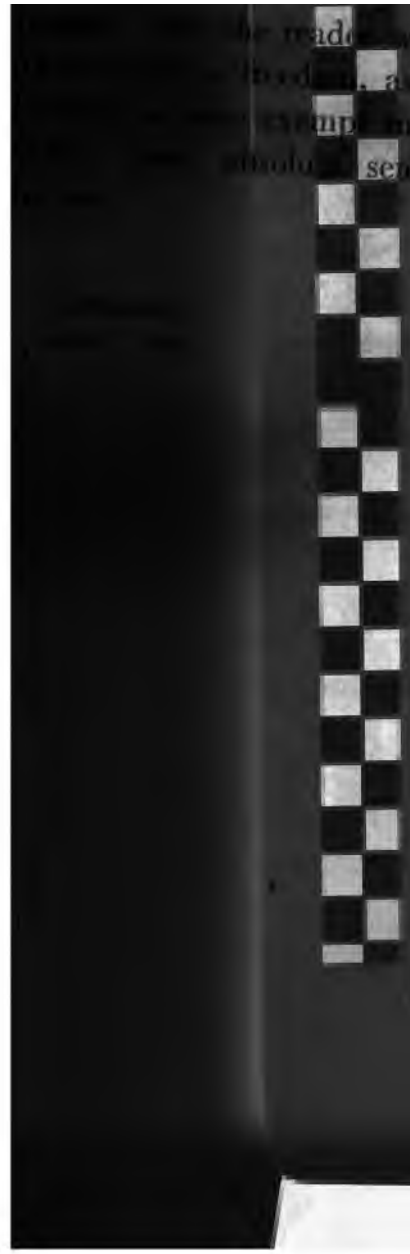
[t] Lord Bolingbroke, ubi sup. p. 531.



THE

CREATION

AND FALL OF MAN.

THAT mankind have not been in this world, nor this world itself been from eternity, may be proved by many arguments from the nature, and from what is, and has in fact been, the known state of the world in the different ages thereof.[a] But in what particular manner men at first began to exist; where, and how they lived; are points of which we can have no farther certainty, than we have some authentic testimony declaring them unto us.

The heathen writers have given us their conjectures upon these subjects, but they are only conjectures.[b] Some part of what they offer, indeed, might be admitted as probable; if we were not better informed, that

[a] See archbishop Tillotson, serm. 1. Wilkins' Nat. Rel. b. i. c. 5.

[b] Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. p. 5.

in the beginning things were not done as they supposed. But in having the writings of Moses, we have a real history of these matters; and, as I have elsewhere[c] made some observations upon his account of the creation of the heavens and the earth; I would herein examine, what he relates concerning the creation of mankind; the manner and circumstances in which our first parents began their being, and the incidents which befel them; hoping to shew, that Moses' account may reasonably be believed to set before us what were real matters of fact; and that no part of what is related by him ought to be taken to be apologue and fable, as some writers are fond of representing.[d]

That the subject I am attempting has many difficulties, I am ready to confess, and not willing to be too positive I can remove them all: but as I apprehend the substance of what I have to offer, will be seen to

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[c] Connect. Sac. et Proph. Hist. pref. to vol. i.

[d] It is observable, that some years ago the most forward writers expressed doubt and reserve in treating this subject: Quædam esse parabolica in hac narratione neque penitus ad litteram exigenda omnes ferè agnoscunt: nonnulli etiam totum sermonem esse volunt ὑποτύπωσιν artificiosam ad explicandas res veras, said Dr. Burnet, Archæolog. p. 283. But we find writers, who have added no argument beyond what Dr. Burnet had before offered, now more absolutely asserting, that the matter of Moses' account is inconsistent with the character of an historical narration, and must, they say, convince all, who consider it without prejudice, that it is wholly fabulous or allegorical. See Middleton's Exam. p. 135.

carry an evident design to give a reason for, and thereby to establish, the principles of revealed religion; I persuade myself I shall find all that candour, which I have long ago experienced the world not unwilling to bestow upon a well-intended endeavour, conducted, as I trust this shall be, without ill-nature or ill-manners to other writers, however I may happen to differ from them.

CHAP. I.

The first and second chapters of Genesis reconciled and adjusted to each other.

THE first and second chapters of Genesis give us the whole of what Moses relates concerning the creation of mankind. Now, we shall see that they accord perfectly with each other; if we consider the first chapter as giving only a short and general account of this great transaction; and the second to be a resumption of the subject, in order to relate some particulars belonging to it, which in the conciseness of the first relation were passed over unmentioned.

In the first chapter, Moses, having recorded the several transactions of the five preceding days, begins the sixth day with God's creating the cattle, and living creatures of the earth,[e] and then adds his determination to make man: *God said, let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.*[f] After this Moses tells us, that God effected his purpose: *So God created*

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[e] Gen. i. 24, 25. [f] Ver. 26.

[illegible] *male and female, he created them*

[illegible] both; and the male and female

[illegible] The [illegible] of Moses are very [illegible] d on the sixth day, [illegible]

[illegible] the man. He does not say, that [illegible] instant; nor in the same [illegible] distinctly consistent in the most [illegible] points [illegible], that God made both [illegible] male and female; nor in the time of this sixth [illegible] ground for the [illegible] Adam [illegible] Eve was taken out of [illegible] which he previously fashioned.[k]

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[k] Ibid.

[illegible]

[illegible] ren.

[illegible] Plato has mentioned, that the man [illegible] two bodies, a male and a female; and that [illegible] by dividing or separating the [illegible] other. It is generally said, that this was a [illegible] but I shall apprehend it to be of a [illegible] Plato's [illegible] of the Androgynes (see [illegible] p. 189), e[illegible] Servant alluded to what [illegible] said, with [illegible] searchers through the deep [illegible] and I doubt not [illegible] ress [illegible] le s[illegible] of this kind [illegible] have [illegible] first [illegible] in [illegible] the Egyptians and Phoenicians [illegible]

After both the man and the woman were created, God blessed them, and said unto them, *be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth: and God said, behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed, to you it shall be for meat: and to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat:*[l] and now *the evening and the morning were the sixth day.*[m] The sixth day was now completed, and the seventh day began, on which God having finished the creation,

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or made proficiency in disguising, with their fables and mythology, the plain narrations they found of the origin of things. See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10. Connect. of Sac. and Proph. Hist. vol. i. b. viii.

[l] Gen. i. 28, 29, 30.

[m] Ver. 31. This was the ancient way of computing the natural day: it began from the morning, proceeded to the evening, and continued until the next morning, finished the preceding, and began the ensuing day. Thus the evening and the morning were the day. Gen. i, 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31. And in this way of computing, the Jews continued to their latest times. For thus we are told of the end of the Sabbath, Matt. xxviii. 1. The Sabbath was ending, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week: the end of the night which had closed the Sabbath was the end of the computed day, The day following began with the morning sun.

rested from all the work which he had made. *And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work, which he had created and made:*[n] *these are the generations of the heavens, and of the earth, when they were created.*[o]

Moses here ends his summary or general account of the creation: and here, I think, they who divided our bible into chapters and verses should have ended the first chapter of Genesis; and the second chapter should have begun with these words: *In the day that the Lord made the earth and the heavens, &c.*

The second chapter of Genesis being, as I have hinted, a resumption of the argument treated in the first, in order to set forth more explicitly some particulars which the first chapter had only mentioned in general, begins thus: *In the day that*, i. e. *when*[p] *the Lord made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field, before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew, for the Lord God had not caused it*[q] *to rain upon the earth; and there was not a man to till the*

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[n] Gen. ii. 2, 3. [o] Ver. 4.

[p] Eo die, *i. e.* quando——Dies tempus in genere passim dicitur. Cleric. in Loc.

[q] We begin this sentence with the particle *for:* the Hebrew text having the particle כי [ci], we put in *for* to answer it: but *ci* should be here rendered *nempe, quidem, indeed,* not *for:* the sentence not being, *for the Lord God had not caused it to rain*—; but, rather, *the Lord God had indeed not caused it to rain* —.

ground; *nor*[r] did a mist go up from the earth and water the whole face of the ground: *but the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul. And the Lord God* had[s] *planted a garden east-*

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[r] We render this paragraph, *but there went up a mist from the earth*, in the affirmative; whereas the sense of the place shews us, that Moses intended to assert, that God made all things before any natural powers were in activity to be the cause of their production: the Hebrew particle ו [ve] is here used, and joins similar, *i. e.* negative sentences; there was no man to till the ground, nor mist went up from the earth. The Arabic version has observed the true meaning of the place, rendering it, nec exhalatio ascendebat, &c.

[s] We say *planted*, in the *perfect* tense; but the Hebrew *perfect* tense is often used in the sense of a *præterpluperfect*, to speak of things done in a time past. This the Syriac version seems rightly to observe in a passage like this in the 19th verse of this chapter. We say, *the Lord God formed out of the ground every beast*—, as if God then made them, whereas the beasts were made some time before: the Syriac version is rendered, *and the Lord God had formed*—. And thus we should render the place before us: *and the Lord God* had *planted a garden*—for the garden was undoubtedly planted on the third day of the creation, when God caused all the plants and trees to spring out of the earth, Gen. i. 11, 12, 13. Vide Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. 1. p. 5. The Greeks had sentiments of this kind from Egypt: for thus Euripides,

Ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μόρφη μιά·
Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,

ward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed.

In this manner Moses proceeds to reconsider the creation of man; first observing, that of itself, or by any powers of its own, the earth had produced nothing. It was an ancient opinion, and very early in Egypt, where Moses had his birth and education, that the earth originally, of itself, brought forth its fruits, plants, trees, and all kinds of living creatures, and men.[t] Some have thought that the natural fertility of the ground for

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Τίκτουσι πᾶντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος,
Τὰ δένδρα, πόηνα, θῆρας, ὃς δ' ἄλμη τρέφει,
Γένος τε θνητῶν——— In Menalippe. v. 14.

The Roman poet seems to have been in doubt between two opinions in this matter; rather inclining to introduce an opifex rerum into all the produce of the whole creation; but not absolutely determining against the opinion of all things arising from their natural seeds in the earth, as soon as the earth was aptly disposed to give rise to them.

[t] "Vix ita limitibus discreverat omnia certis,
Cum quæ pressa diu massâ latuere sub ipsâ
Sidera cœperunt toto effervescere cœlo:
Neu regio foret ulla suis animalibus orba,
Astra tenent cœleste solum, formæque deorum,
Cesserunt nitidis habitandæ piscibus undæ;
Terra feras cepit, volucres agitabilis aer:
Natus homo est, sive hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo;
Sive recens Tellus seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere cognati retinebat semina cœli."

Ovid. Metamorph.

these purposes was put in action, either by the rain which fell from heaven, or by some moisture exhaled from the earth, fertilized by the sun, and falling down in a mist, spread abroad over the face of the ground.[u] But Moses, contrary to all the imaginations of this philosophy, affirms, that by the word of God only all things were made; that there was not a plant, which God did not create before it was in the earth; nor an herb, which he had not made before it grew; and that God had made them all, before either rain or dew had watered the earth; or the earth had had any tillage from the hand of man; for that all the produce of the world had its beginning before there was any man to till the ground: but that other things being thus set in order, God last of all made man.—He had, as I have observed, before told us, that God made man; and that he made two persons, the male and the female.[w] He now proceeds more distinctly to relate, of what materials God made them both; when, and how they were created; where he placed them, and what command and directions he gave them, as soon as he gave them being.

And, 1. God *made* the *man of the dust of the ground, breathed into him the breath of life*, and caused him to *become a living soul.*[x] 2. He put him into the garden

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[u] Thus perhaps they thought who would have sung with Pindar, Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ· Olymp. Ode 1. or thought with Thales, aquam esse initium rerum. Cicero Lib. de Nat. Deor. i. c. 10.

[w] Gen. i. 27. [x] Gen. ii. 7.

which he had planted, to *dress it and keep it:* and having therein caused to grow *every tree* either *pleasant to the sight*, or *good for food*; the *tree of life* also, and *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*;[y] the Lord God *commanded the man, saying, of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.*[z] 3. Having given the man this injunction, *the Lord God said, it is not good that the man should be alone, I will make him a help meet for him.*[a] But, 4. before God proceeded to make this meet help for man, the beasts of the field being before formed,[b] and every fowl of the air, God brought Adam to a trial how he might name them.[c] And after this, 5. *God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept. And he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, this is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of the man.*[d] These are the particulars relating to the creation of mankind, which Moses distinctly mentions in this second chapter. And if we would place them

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[y] Gen. ii. 9. [z] Ver. 16, 17. [a] Ver. 19.

[b] We render the place, *God formed;* but, as I have before observed, the Syriac version is rightly translated, *God had formed;* for the creatures were made before man.

[c] Gen. ii. 19, 20. [d] Ver. 23.

in order as they were done, together with what is hinted in the first chapter, we might insert them between the 27th and 28th verses of the first chapter. God *created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him*, and *the male and the female, he created both of them.*[e] The male he *formed of the dust of the ground*;[f] placed him in the garden, commanded him his duty there;[g] declared that he did not intend him to be alone;[h] called him to try to name the creatures of the world;[i] then caused him to fall into a deep sleep, and out of the man made the woman to take her beginning.[k] The male and the female being now both created, God gave them both the general blessing, and said unto them all that Moses farther adds in the 28th, 29th, and 30th verses of the first chapter; in all which the two chapters entirely agree, and the second is no more than a supplement to the former. For I think it needless to remark, that there is no manner of contradiction between the first chapter's giving them leave *to eat of every tree upon the face of all the earth*,[l] when the second shews plainly, that of one tree in the garden they were not to eat.[m] It is only to be observed that the forbidden tree was one tree only, and that growing in the garden; there was no forbidden tree out of the garden all over the world. The restraint, as to one tree,

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[e] Gen. i. 27.
[f] Gen. ii. 7.
[g] Ver. 11, 17.
[h] Ver. 18.
[i] Ver. 19, 20.
[k] Ver. 21, 22.
[l] Gen. i. 29.
[m] Gen. ii. 17.

was enjoined to be observed by them within their garden; but wherever they went out of their garden into the earth to replenish and subdue it, all was common. They had no care to inquire, whether a like tree with that prohibited in the garden, grew any where else in the world; for all that grew without the garden, every tree, and every herb upon the face of the earth, was indiscriminately given them for meat.

CHAP. II.

Considerations concerning some particulars related by Moses as belonging to Adam's first day.

NO sooner was Adam created, than Moses tells us he heard the voice of God;[n] and that, I think, upon two different points. First; he was audibly commanded, that he should not eat of the forbidden tree.[o] Secondly; he was told, that he should not live alone; for that God would make for him a help, that should be his likeness.[p] Without doubt he sufficiently understood

[n] Gen. ii. 17. [o] Ibid.

[p] Ver. 18. I apprehend the word which our version renders *a help meet for him*, might be translated, a help, that

what was thus spoken to him; otherwise the voice of God had spoken to him in vain. But it will be here asked, how should Adam, having never before heard words, instantly know the meaning of what the voice of God thus spake to him? May we not fully answer this question by another? how did the apostles, and such of the early disciples of Christ as God so enabled,[q] instantly know the meaning of words, in tongues or languages which they had never before heard or understood? The spirit of God in both cases raised in the mind the ideas intended, as far as God was pleased to

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shall be his likeness. The Hebrew words are עזר כנגדו [nezer cenegeddo]: the interlinear Latin renders them, auxilium quasi coram eo, *a help, as it were before him, i. e.* in his sight or presence, to stand ready to receive his instructions, to aid and execute them. But I do not find the word [neged] ever thus used. To stand before, or in the presence of one ready for his aid or service, is, I think, always otherwise expressed in scripture: See Deut. x. 8. 1 Sam. xvi. 22, &c. Some of the versions intimate the meaning of this passage to be, that God would make for Adam a help like himself: adjutorium simile sibi, says the vulgar Latin. Βοηθὸν κατ ἀυτὸι, says the Septuagint. The Syriac is, adjutorem similem ipsi. Onkelos, adjutorium quasi eum. And why may we not, instead of taking the word [neged] to be a preposition, and to signify coràm, before, or in the presence of, suppose it to be a noun substantive from the verb [nagad] indicavit, and translate [cenegeddo] quasi indicium ejus? I would say in English, an indicating, or, as it were, a speaking likeness of him.

[q] 1 Corinth. xii. 10—30.

have them perceived; which the words spoken would have raised, had a knowledge of such words in a natural way been attained. God, who planted the ear, hath given us to hear; and so made us, that whatever sound strikes that organ, shall move the mind of him who hears it. But in themselves words are mere sounds; when they strike the ear, the understanding instantly and naturally judges, whether they are soft or loud, harsh or agreeable; *i. e.* how the ear is affected by them. But to give words a meaning; to make them carry, not only the voice of the speaker to the hearer's ear, but the intention of the speaker's mind to the hearer's heart; this comes not naturally from mere hearing, but from having learned what intention is to be given to such words as are spoken. Should a man hear it said to him, bring the bread, it is evident that if the words had never before been heard by him, they would be to him sounds of no determinate meaning. But let the word bread be repeated to him, and the loaf shewed him, until he perceives, that whenever he hears the word bread, the loaf is intended by it; let him farther, upon hearing the word bring, see the action intended by this word done, until he apprehends it, and from that time the words, whenever he hears them, will speak their design. But should we now say, that therefore some process of this sort must have been necessary for our first parents' understanding what God, in the beginning of their being, was pleased to cause in words to be heard by them; we err most inconsiderately, neither attending to the scriptures, nor to the power of God. The scriptures shew us, in the instance of the apostles and early disciples above mentioned, that God

has in fact, long since the days of Adam, made men instantly understand words never before heard or learned by them. And he can, undoubtedly, from any sound heard, teach the heart of man what knowledge he pleases, instantly causing, from any words spoken, such sentiments to arise in the mind, as he thinks fit to cause by them. This matter, I apprehend, is so plain, that it is unnecessary to be argued in general; though it may not be improper, before I leave this topic, to consider a little farther, what extent or compass of ideas we may reasonably suppose our first parents had of the things spoken to them from the words of God, which they heard in this their first day.

An ingenious writer has queried upon this subject: how could Eve, upon hearing that death was threatened to the eating of the forbidden tree, have any notion of what could be meant by dying,[r] having neither seen nor felt any thing like it? Our author seems to think, that our first parents could have no ideas of death at all, if they had not such sentiments as time and experience enabled them to form, and which they had gradually more and more enlarged. Whereas nothing can be more obvious, than that if upon hearing what God threatened, namely, that they should die; God caused them to apprehend that they should cease to be, though they could in nowise conceive the man-

[r] Quo die comedetis moriemini—mori! Quid hoc rei est inquit ignara virgo, quæ nihil unquam mortuum viderat, ne florem quidem, neque mortis imaginem, somnum, vel noctem, oculis vel animo adhuc senserat. Burnet. Archæol. p. 291.

ner *how*; a general notion of this sort might have been sufficient for them. Their first idea of dying was, undoubtedly, not the image which they afterwards came to have of it, when they slew their first sacrifice. And their idea of death became afterwards farther augmented with new terrors, when the murder of their son Abel, by Cain, shewed them more plainly how it would affect them in their own persons. Many incidents, also, probably occasioned their additional observations and reflections concerning it; although as we cannot, so neither could they, have their idea of death full and complete, until they had gone through their own dissolution. But, as in this one instance, so in all others, the sentiments which God was pleased to raise in the minds of our first parents of the things he spake to them, were no more than as it were their first and unimproved notions of those things; God did not cause them to think of them in that extent and variety of conception, which they came afterwards to have, as their thoughts enlarged by a farther acquaintance with the things spoken of, and with other things from which they distinguished, or with which they compared them. In and from the words which God was pleased to speak to them, he gave them some plain and obvious sentiments, which were the first beginnings of the thoughts of their lives; conceptions which grew gradually, and produced others more enlarged and diversified, as they grew more and more acquainted with themselves and the things of the world.

It may here be considered, whether God was pleased to give Adam and Eve to understand all the words of some one language, so that they immediately conceived

whatever was said to them in that particular tongue. Many have supposed, that God endowed them with both speaking and understanding some innate language; but I confess I cannot see sufficient reasons for this sentiment, as I have suggested in another place.[s] The author of Ecclesiasticus, indeed, tells us of our first parents, that *they received the use of the five operations of the Lord: and in the sixth place he imparted to them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof.*[t] But we shall hastily go beyond the true sentiment of this considerate writer, if we conclude from it, that God instantly gave Adam every word he was to introduce into his language, or gave him instantly to understand every word of that language in which God spake, by whomsoever any word of it might have been spoken to him. The author of Ecclesiasticus does indeed declare that the speech of man is the gift of God; but in like manner he represents that the perception of man by his five senses, and the judgment of man by his understanding, is so too;[u] not meaning, that in giving man speech, God actually gave him every word he was to utter, any more than that in giving him the *five operations* of his senses, or in giving him *understanding*, God planted innate in him every idea which his senses were to raise; or actually formed in his mind every sentiment of his judgment and understanding, respecting those things which he perceived. Rather, in all these cases, God gave only a capacity or ability; in the one he made man capable of

[s] See Connect. vol. i. b. ii. [t] Ecclesiasticus xvii. 5. [u] Ibid.

sensations of things without him; in the other, able to form a judgment of the things perceived, and in language capable of uttering sounds, and of judging from what he had heard from the voice of God, how he might make his own sounds significant to himself, and in time to others, to intend what he might fix and design by each sound to point out and denominate. In this manner Adam and Eve might form for themselves all the words of their language, beside those few which had actually been spoken to them by the voice of God. Their immediately understanding these, was unquestionably from him who spake to them:[w] but because they were instantly enabled, by the power of God, who could affect their minds as he pleased, to understand each word that proceeded *from the mouth of God*, (for otherwise they could not have been instructed by God's speaking to them;) it does not, therefore, follow, that they should as readily understand all the words of some one whole tongue.

Some writers, indeed, represent Adam as abounding in great fluency of speech, pouring forth the fulness of his heart in most eloquent soliloquies, as soon as he perceived he was in being;[x] but a considerate inquirer will think this very unnatural. Adam, though created a man, not in the imbecility of infancy and childhood, cannot be supposed to have had a mind stored with ideas (and without these, what could be his thoughts?) before he attained them by sensations from without, or

[w] Vide quæ sup.

[x] See Milton's Paradise Lost, b. viii. ver. 273.

reflections upon his perceptions within: and shall we think that he had words upon his tongue sooner or faster than he acquired sentiments? Moses introduces Adam into the world in a manner far more natural: whatever Adam heard and understood from the voice of God, Moses does not hint that he attempted to speak a word, until God called him to try to name the creatures;[y] so that here we find the first attempt Adam made to speak. We perceive likewise the manner and the process of it; for God, we are told, brought the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air,[z] unto Adam, *to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.*[a] After Adam had been called to this trial, we find him able also to give a name to the woman.[b] But before this trial we read nothing that can induce us to think that he attempted to speak at all; rather, an attention to what was said to him by the voice of God entirely engrossed him. *God brought to Adam* the creatures, *to see what he would call them*: *i. e.* to put Adam upon considering how to name them. But how superfluous a thing would this have been, if Adam had had an innate word for every creature that was to be named by him? Whenever he saw a thing, the innate name for it would have readily offered itself without trial; he must have had that name for it, and he could have had no other. But the text plainly supposes that Adam, in

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[y] Gen. ii. see to ver. 19.

[z] The fact here related will be more distinctly considered chap. 3. [a] Gen ii. 19. [b] Ver. 23.

naming the creatures, had been more at liberty; *whatsoever Adam named every living creature, that was the name thereof.* He might have called them by other names than he did; he might have fixed this or that sound, just as he inclined to call this or that creature, and therefore had no innate names for any; but, having determined with himself what sound to use for the name of one, and what for another, God Almighty herein not interposing, he was left to himself, and so fixed what he determined for the name of each. But,

I must confess, that an incident which follows may require our examination before we dismiss this point. If we consider how Eve was affected when the serpent spake to her,[c] we see no reason to think she had any difficulty in understanding any part of what was said to her. She as readily took the meaning of what the serpent expressed to her, as either she or Adam had before apprehended what had been spoken to them by the voice of God. *God doth know*, said the serpent, *that in the day that ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.*[d] God had said nothing to them concerning their eyes being opened, nor their being as gods; and therefore, if they had no farther knowledge of the meaning of words, than of those only which the voice of God had spoken to them; here seem to have been sounds never before heard by them, and how could these be so readily received and apprehended? We

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[c] Gen. iii. [d] Ver. 5.

can in no wise suppose that the serpent had God's power to make his words instantly as intelligible to Eve as he pleased.

And it will increase the difficulty, if we should consider the words here spoken as bearing not a plain but a metaphorical meaning. Their eyes were to be opened; *i. e.* say some, their understandings were to be enlarged; *open thou mine eyes*, said the Psalmist, *and I shall see wondrous things from thy law.*[e] The Psalmist here prays for what he elsewhere expresses in words without the figure, that God, through his commandments, would make him wiser, would give him more understanding than he should have had without them.[f] And it may seem that, according to Moses, the event of their eyes being opened was, *they knew they were naked*;[g] they had knowledge of themselves, different from what they had before; so that we may perhaps think, that Moses here used the eye of the body metaphorically, for the sense of the understanding, intending by the opening of the one the increase of the judgment of the other. Now, if this was the meaning of the words of the serpent to Eve, and if Eve thus understood them; we cannot conceive that she had been at this time a mere novice in language, just beginning to form first notions of a few original and plain words. We must rather think her an adept in the tongue which the serpent used, that she had a ready conception of all the elegance of its diction; could give its

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[e] Psalm cxix. 18. [f] Ver. 98, 99. [g] Gen. iii. 7.

metaphors and figurative expression their true meaning; could receive and feel their full and real import. But to all this I answer:

1. There was no metaphor intended by Moses in the words in which he has expressed what the serpent said to Eve. The diction of the Psalmist is indeed figurative, *open thou mine eyes, and I shall see wondrous things from thy law*;[h] but the word used for *open*, is not the same with that of Moses: גל עיני [gal nainai] says the Psalmist: the word here used is a termination of the verb *galah*: but Moses expresses the serpent's words to Eve, *your eyes shall be opened*, נפקחו עיניכם [niphkechu neineicem,[i]] Moses' word for *shall be opened*, is a termination of the verb *pakach*. The Hebrew language has both these verbs, and we render both by the word *open*; but the one only, namely *galah*, speaks in the metaphorical sense, means by opening the eye instructing the understanding, either by our forming a better judgment of things, or when God by vision, or in any other manner, was pleased to give an extraordinary revelation.[k] *Pakach nain* signifies no more than *to see*, what is the object of the natural eye;[l] and to this meaning it is confined so strictly, that although *pakach nain* is sometimes said of God, when he is spoken of after the manner of men; yet it is used only where God is said to look upon such outward actions as can come under the observation of

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[h] Psalm cxix. ubi sup.

[i] Gen. iii. 5.

[k] See Numb. xxxiv. 4. 2 Kings iv. 35. vi. 17, 20. Prov. xx. 13.

[l] Gen. xxi. 9.

the eye;[m] wherever God is said to regard what can be matter of the attention of the mind only, the expression *pakach nain* is, I think, not used.

Pakach nain, therefore, carries the intention no farther than to the outward sight; signifies no more than to open the eye of the body: I might say, it has such a propriety to express this and this only, that as *facere* in Latin may be put as it were idiomatically for *to sacrifice*,

——cum faciam vitulâ —— Virg.

So a participle of the verb *pakach*, without *nain* (the word for *eye*) after it, may be used in the Hebrew language for one who has his eye-sight, in opposition to the being blind;[n] so that we use Hebrew words, not in their Hebrew or true meaning, if we take Moses, by the words he has used, to intend that the serpent had herein said any thing referring farther than to their natural eye. But,[o]

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[m] See 2 Kings xix. 16. Isa. xxxvii. 17. Dan. ix. 18, &c.

[n] Exodus iv. 11. xxiii. 8. [o] It may perhaps be here questioned, whether the words in this place used by Moses, were the very words spoken by the serpent? Indeed I apprehend they were not, as I do not conceive that Moses' Hebrew was the original unimproved language of the world. See Connect. vol. i. b. ii. But as we have all reason, whether we conceive Moses to have written by an immediate inspiration; or whether, under a divine direction, he wrote from ancient memoirs of his forefathers, which were recorded in an older, and perhaps then obsolete diction; we may and ought to allow, that he expressed in the language of his own

2. Let us observe, that in what the serpent said to Eve, he was for the greater part confined to use the very words, and none other, than what both Eve and Adam had heard and understood from the voice of God; and therefore all these she readily understood as she had before heard and understood them. Accordingly, there could be nothing in the serpent's first address to Eve, *yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?*[p] but what she must have readily understood from God's having said, *of every tree of the garden* ye *may freely eat*;[q] only we may remark, that though Moses has in divers places historically called God, *Elohim*,[r] yet that God not having as yet so named himself to her and Adam, the word *Elohim*, God, might not have been heard by Eve before the serpent spake it to her. But, if this was in fact true, as there was no other person but one, who had spoken before this to her or Adam, there could be no confusion in her hearing the serpent call him *Elohim*, God; she must readily understand whom he intended by that name. To go on—The serpent's next words, *ye shall not surely die*,[s] must instantly, when spoken, be sufficiently understood, from her having understood what God had said before, *ye shall surely die*;[t] as any

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times, with a strict propriety, what the serpent had spoken in words of the same meaning, though probably of a more antique form, construction, and pronunciation.

[p] Gen. iii. 1.
[q] Gen. ii. 16.
[r] See Gen. i. and ii.
[s] Gen. iii. 4.
[t] Gen. ii. 17.

one that understands a proposition affirmed, must understand the denial of that same proposition. The serpent proceeded, *for God doth know, that in the day that ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be* as gods [*ce Elohim*]—*as God, knowing good and evil.* Here I would observe, that *in the day that ye eat thereof*, had been before said to them from the mouth of God,[u] and that God had called the tree, *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*,[w] and therefore from what God had in these words said to them, all the sentiment she had of knowing, and of knowing good and evil, may be conceived to arise upon the serpent speaking to her in these like terms. The serpent told her they should be *as gods*; we render it in the plural number, but not rightly; for it is not reasonable to imagine the serpent intimated to her herein, that there were spiritual beings, many in number in the invisible world; this did not as yet enter her imagination. She and Adam had heard only one who spake to them; the serpent had told Eve that this person was *Elohim*;[x] he here tells her, that if they eat of the tree, they should increase in knowledge of good and evil, be *ce Elohim*, like *him*: and herein, as far as they had any notions of what knowledge was, nothing unintelligible was proposed to her.

There remains still to be considered, what she expected from what seemed to be promised in the words, *your eyes shall be opened.* But I may fully answer this in three or four observations. 1. I have already

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[u] Gen. ii. 17. [w] Ibid. [x] Gen. iii. 1.

said, that these words have no reference to the improvement of the knowledge of the mind. What the tempter offered concerning that, came afterwards under the words *ye shall be* as God, *knowing good and evil*. The words concerning their *eyes being opened*, are such, that, according to the Hebrew idiom, they speak no more than some enlargement of their outward sight. 2. I would remark, that it cannot be necessary to say, that Eve had an adequate and full notion of the true meaning of those words. The writers that would puzzle and perplex this matter, contend, that the fall happened immediately after the creation; but we can in no wise find any one reason for such an assertion. Rather, I apprehend, we shall see what may induce us to think that several days intervened between the Sabbath after[7] the day of Adam and Eve's creation, and the day on which the serpent tempted Eve. On the night of each of these days, Adam and Eve in the course of nature had known what sleep was, and how it differed from the being awake, and therefrom what it was to shut the eye, and what it was to open it; and probably had made themselves, before the serpent spake to Eve, a name for the one, and a name for the other. Therefore, though the

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[7] See hereafter. Syncellus cites the Ἀνωλὰ Τιβέριας to say, that Adam was guilty of the transgression in his seventh year, and expelled Paradise in his eighth. Syncelli Chronogr. p. 8. What the minutes of Genesis here cited were, I cannot say, nor by whom made; their authority can avail only to hint, that there have been ancient writers who did not think the fall had been so instantaneous as others have since imagined.

serpent here used words which they had not heard from the mouth of God, yet he might not herein use words which they had not agreed to make, and had daily spoken to and heard from themselves, and consequently were words that were not without meaning. I do not say that Adam or Eve, at hearing these words, conceived exactly the event which afterwards came to pass; for it is easy to observe, that we may be said to know the general meaning of words, sufficiently to give us expectations from them, and yet not be able determinately to see their full extent and import. Every one that has a common understanding of the Greek tongue, would, upon reading the philosopher, καθάρσεις ψυχῆς λογικῆς εἰσι αἱ μαθηματικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαι,[2] apprehend that these studies may greatly improve us, as the English reader may, from no better translation of the words than, *the mathematics are purgations of the reasonable mind:* but the particular improvement to be obtained from them, would not hence be known to any, who had not experienced the habit, which may be acquired from these studies, of pursuing a long train of ideas variously intermingled, so as to see through all the steps which truly lead to the most distant conclusions. Whether Eve, well knowing from many days' experience, wherein the opening the eye differed from shutting it, thought that after eating the fruit she should never more slumber nor sleep; or whether she conceived such an addition to their sight, as that they might thenceforth be able to see Him, whom hitherto they had heard only,

[2] Hierocles in aurea Carmina Pythag.

without his being visible to them,[a] I cannot say: but we may conceive that she had formed to herself great expectations, without reaching the full meaning of the words, much less apprehending what proved in reality to be the event. Upon the whole: when God was pleased to speak to Adam and Eve, as they had not before heard words, we cannot conceive that they could have understood what the voice of God spake, unless God had caused them to understand the words spoken. But allowing that God enabled them to perceive what he thought fit to say, and duly attending to what Moses relates farther; we may conclude that nothing more was said to them, or that they hurried into the world, or the things of the world broke in upon them, faster, or in a greater variety, than they could form to themselves words, to talk of, and to know distinctly, as far as their knowledge did, or it was necessary it should then reach, the things they had to hear or to speak, to be concerned in, or affected with in their lives. Therefore no more being necessary for them, than that God should cause them so to understand what he thought fit to speak to them; we justly conclude, that, respecting making other words, and settling the meaning and intention of them, he left our first parents to do what he had given them full powers and opportunity to do, in a natural way for themselves, unto which God was pleased to lead Adam, as far as he herein wanted guidance and direction in the manner which shall be set forth in the ensuing chapter.

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[a] No divine appearance is recorded to have been seen before the days of Abraham. See Connect. b. ix.

CHAP. III.

A consideration of the particular manner in which God was pleased to lead Adam to name the living creatures of the world.

THE fact, concerning which I am to inquire in this chapter, is thus related by Moses: *Out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof: and Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field.*[b] To form a right judgment of what is here said to be done, we must not too hastily rest satisfied with our English version of Moses' words; but inquire more strictly into his text, and examine how he relates this matter.

THE WORDS OF MOSES ARE:

Veyitzer Yehovah Elohim min ha Adamah col chayath hassedah
veæth col Noph hashemaim, veyabea æl ha Adam
lireoth mah yikrah lo: ve col asher yikra lo ha Adam (nephesh chayah)
hua Shemo: veyikra ha Adam Shemoth lecol habehemah
ve lenoph ha Shemaim ve lecol chayath hassedah,[c]

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[b] Gen. ii. 19, 20.

[c] The Hebrew words are, and may be written and interlined, as follows:

ויצר יהוה אלהים מן האדמה כל חית השדה
agri animal omne humo ex Deus Dominus et formavit

The passage verbally translated is as follows: *and the Lord God formed out of the ground every beast of the field, and every fowl of the heavens, and he brought unto Adam to see what he would call* IT. *And whatsoever Adam called* IT, *(the living creature,) that was the name of* IT. *And Adam gave names to every living creature, and to the fowls of the heavens, and to every beast of the field.*

It is observable that the first period of this passage, namely, *and the Lord God formed out of the ground every beast of the field, and every fowl of the heaven,* was not intended to hint, that God, at this juncture, created any living creatures anew. The words should rather have been rendered agreeably to the translation of the Syriac version,[d] *the Lord God had formed....*; for they are not a relation that God had now made them, but a recognition of what had been before related, that he had been the Creator both of the birds and cattle;[e] none of which were made at this time; for the one were

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ואת כל־עוף השמים ויבא אל האדם
Adamum ad et adduxit cœlorum volatile omne ac etiam
לראות מה יקרא לו וכל אשר יקרא־לו (נפש חיה) האדם
ipse Adam (vivens animal) illi nomen dedit quod et omne daret illi nomen quid ad videndum.
הוא שמו ויקרא האדם שמות לכל הבהמה
Bestiæ omni nomina ipse Adam et edixit nomen ejus hoc
ולעוף השמים ולכל חית השדה
agri animali et omni cœlorum et volatili

[d] Compegerat autem Dominus Deus de humo omnem Bestiam. Vide Walt. Polyglott. Syr. Vers. in loc.

[e] See Gen. i.

created a day sooner than Adam,[f] the other on the same day, but earlier and before him.[g]

In like manner; the words which begin the 20th verse, *and Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field*, do not mean that Adam now, at this one time, gave names to all living creatures; but are rather a remark, that the names of the creatures were given by Adam, and by no other. He himself, (ha Adam,) says the text, named them; not now, all at once, which undoubtedly would have been too much for him; but he named them gradually, some at one time, and some at another, in the process of his life, as incidents happened to give occasion for his so doing.

That the fact really was not that Adam now named all the creatures, is evident, from the very express words of Moses, which relate the particular we are examining. The words of Moses are; *and the Lord God brought unto Adam, to see what he would call* IT:[h] *and whatsoever Adam called* IT, the living creature,[i] *that was the name of* IT.[k] The question here is, what did God bring unto the man? Our English version, follow-

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[f] Gen. i. 20. [g] Ver. 24, 25.

[h] *lireoth mah yikra lo.* Gen. ii. 18.

[i] *ve col asher yikra lo ha Adam nephesh chayath hua Shemo.* Ibid.

[k] *Hua shemo.* Ibid.—The Samaritan text is rendered more strictly to the Hebrew words in the Latin translation of it in our Polyglot bible thus,—adduxitque ad Adam, ut videret, quomodo vocaret illud; et omne quod vocaret illud Adam animæ viventis hoc est nomen ejus.

ing other translations, says *them*; *i. e.* every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, for these are the words to which *them* must refer. But we should observe, that the word *them* is not in the Hebrew text: according to Moses, the name given by Adam was לו [lo,] *i. e.* to *it*; the pronoun being of the singular number, not plural; which the next sentence expresses more fully; for the words are not as we render the text, and *whatsoever Adam called every living creature.*—— There is no word in the text for *every*: the Hebrew words say, *whatsoever Adam called* it, the living creature, *that was the name of*, not *them*, but the text says that was the name of IT.

Thus the fact before us appears to be, that God brought unto Adam, not all the living creatures; for the text says no such thing. God indeed made all the creatures,[l] and Moses here recognizes this truth: but God brought unto Adam some one creature only; a *nephesh chayah* in the singular number,[m] to see what he would call *it*. Adam hereupon gave *it* a name;

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[l] Gen. i. [m] See the text of Gen. ii. 19. I should have some difficulty to say, why *nephesh chayah* is not *lenephesh chayah*, in the dative case; as I think *nephesh* standing after and referring to *lo* the construction should require. But I would offer to the consideration of the learned, whether if in the ancient manuscript this text was written in lines ending with the words which I have made the final words of the several lines, as I have before transcribed them, *nephesh chayah* might not be so situated at the end of a line, as that a copyist might mistake and put it to the end of the third line, when it

and what he thus called *it*, that was the name of *it*. God was pleased herein to bring Adam to a trial, to shew him how he might use sounds of his own to be the names of things: he called him to give a name to one creature, and hereby put him upon seeing how words might be made for this purpose: Adam understood the instruction, and practised accordingly. For so Moses tells us: *Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field.*[a] The names of the creatures were not given by any express words from the voice of God; but were of Adam's own making, as he proceeded to use sounds of his own to be the names of things as himself designed them. God, as I said, brought Adam to name one creature: Adam had the sense and understanding to see hereby, how he might make words, and make use of them. Accordingly, in the progress of his life, as the creatures of the world came under his observation, he used this ability, aud gave names to them all.

Now if this was the fact, it must, I think, be allowed, that Adam had, as I have already observed, no formed, fixed, and innate language. If he had such a language,

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really should be at the end of the second. If this may be supposed, the words of Moses are exceeding clear, being exactly as follows: *And the Lord God had formed of the ground every beast of the field, and every fowl of the heavens, and brought unto Adam a living creature, to see what name he would give to it. And whatsoever name Adam gave it, that was the name of it, &c.*

[a] Gen. ii. 20.

it must surely have been most superfluous to bring him to this trial, to set any creature before him to see what he would call it. An innate language, whenever and wherever he had seen any creature or thing in the world, would have instantly given him its innate name. No trial could have been wanted to lead him to it, for this name would, as it were, have offered itself; and I cannot see how he should have thought of any other. But Moses seems in no wise to represent Adam under these limitations; a creature was brought to him to see what he would call it; and there is not the least hint, that he was so much as directed what to call it; for (*ha* Adam) Adam himself named all the creatures.° We have no reason to think that God dictated the name of any; and the expressions of Moses hint that Adam had all possible liberty to name them, as his own imagination should lead him. It seems that nothing had been herein fixed or determined for him; but he called every thing by what name he pleased, and whatsoever name he fixed and determined for any creature, that was the name thereof.

Our bibles close the 20th verse of the second chapter of Genesis with these words; *but for Adam there was not found a help meet for him.* The adding these words to the end of this 20th verse may seem to represent, that in the transaction ending with this observation, there had been, undoubtedly, a survey taken of all the creatures in the world, to have it seen that none of them were fit to be Adam's associate; and consequently

° Ibid. ut. sup.

that all the creatures had been convened for Adam to name them. I believe our translators had this sentiment; and they who divided the bible into verses, were probably of the same opinion. This thought may easily take the unwary; though I am surprised that the difficulty of conceiving how it could be, has not occasioned a more strict examination. However, as I have shewn that Moses' text says no such thing; I may as clearly prove, that in the words of Moses, which we improperly add to the 20th verse, no such insinuation was really intended.

For, 1; these words, *but for Adam there was not found a help meet for him*, ought not to have been made a part of the 20th verse; because they are the beginning of the relation of a new transaction, and having no reference to any thing going before, they should have begun a new period absolutely independent of, and detached from, the former. Agreeably hereto we may observe, 2. That the particle ו [ve], which we here translate *but*, ought to be in this place rendered *and*. It is often so rendered in the first and in this second chapter of Genesis; it is not here a discretive particle, disjoining and distinguishing two parts of one period; but the particle often used by Moses when, having finished his narration of one fact, he passes on from that to quite another.[p] 3. If we suppose that the words above cited belong to the 20th verse, we shall find it difficult to make out their grammatical construction; it will be difficult to ascertain a nominative case to the verb

[p] Gen. i. 6, 9, 14, 20, &c. ii. 7, 15, 18, 20, 21.

found; for the word which we translate *was found*, is not passive, as we render it. The words are לא מצא [loa matza], *he did not find*, in the active voice; and the nominative case to this verb follows after the next verb in the next verse, and is *Jehovah Elohim*, the Lord God.[q] This is a construction very clear and frequent in many languages, and in the Hebrew tongue amongst others; and our translators ought to have been carefully attentive to it. 4. I would farther observe, that the Hebrew verb *matza* does not always signify to find a thing, after having looked for it; but when used with a noun to which ל is prefixed, it makes an idiom of the Hebrew tongue, to which we have something similar in a particular use of our word *find* in English. Buxtorf remarks,[r] that the verb *matza* with a dative case by the prefix *le* signifies to *suffice*: I should rather say, sufficiently to supply: thus Numbers xi. 22. *Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them?* ומצא להם, [ve matza lehem,] *and will it suffice them*; i. e. will it sufficiently supply them? Thus again, Judges xxi. 14. *And Benjamin came again at that time, and they gave them wives which they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh Gilead:* but the Hebrew words are ולא-מצאו להם כן, [ve loa matzaeu lehem ken,] *and yet so they sufficed them not*, they did not sufficiently supply them so. I would, more closely to the Hebrew,

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[q] The words are, Gen. ii. 20.

ולאדם לא מצא עזר כנגדו ויפל

at cadere fecit judicium ejus adjutorium non invenerat et homini

יהוה אלהים תרדמה על האדם

Adamum. in Soporem Deus Jehovah.

[r] Buxtorf. in voce מצא.

translate both these places by our English word *find:* Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them? I should say, will it find them? In the passage in the Book of Numbers, *They gave them wives, which they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh Gilead,* but (I should render the place) they did not find them so. The expression to *find a person,* is still used in some parts of England, to signify to supply that person with such things as we undertake to procure for him; and in this sense I take the word *matza* to be here used by Moses. God had promised to find Adam with a person or helper, that should be his likeness: Moses, now going to relate in what manner God made this person, introduces his narration very properly with observing, that God had not yet[s] found or supplied Adam with this companion: and having suggested this observation, he proceeds to relate in what manner God now supplied him. *And the Lord God had not* supplied or *found the man with the help meet for him*: but *caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, &c.*[t]

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the formation of Eve, and the further transactions of Adam's first day; together with some observations upon the whole.

THE account given by Moses of the formation of Eve, is in words as follow: *And the Lord God caused*

[s] Gen. ii. 20. [t] Ver. 21.

a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof: and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam: the Hebrew word for a deep sleep is תרדמה [tardemah]: it is a word used in divers places in the Old Testament: in some it signifies no more than what we in English call a sound sleep; a sleep from which we awake, not having dreamed, or been sensible of any thing that has passed during the time of it. It is thus used in the Book of Proverbs; *slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep*:[v] and more emphatically in the first Book of Samuel, where David and Abishai went by night into Saul's camp, and took away the spear and cruse of water from his bolster, without awaking him or any of the soldiery, that lay asleep round about him;[w] for, says the text, *tardemah Jehovah, a deep sleep* of or *from the Lord was fallen upon them*; hereby meaning, that they were in a most exceeding sound sleep; so sound, that we might, using the Hebrew idiom,[x] speak

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[v] Prov. xix. 5. [w] 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

[x] It is a solemn, but not unusual expression in the Hebrew tongue, to say of a thing beyond measure great, that it is of the Lord; not always meaning hereby, that God himself is the immediate cause of it, but signifying it to be such, that naturally no account is easy to be given of it. So great was the hardness of Pharaoh's heart, that God is thus said to have hardened it, though Pharaoh really hardened his own heart, Exod. vii. 13, 22. viii. 15, 19, 32. ix. 7, 34. See Connect. b. ix. Thus it is said, that it was "of the Lord to harden

as if God himself had been the cause of it. But although this is the general signification of the word *tardemáh*; yet it is farther used sometimes to denote that kind of sleep in which God, in the earlier ages of the world, was pleased in divers manners to give revelations unto men. When sound asleep, their natural sensations made no impressions on them; but, by internal visions and movements of their minds, they had strong and lively sentiments raised of what God was thus pleased to shew them. Daniel says of himself, using the verb from which the noun *tardemah* is derived, *nirdampti, I was in a deep sleep, on my face towards the ground, but he touched me, and set me upright.*[y] In a

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the hearts *of the* Canaanites," that they should "come out against the Israelites in battle," Joshua ix. 19. Not that we are to say, that God actually prevented the Canaanites from securing themselves from ruin. See Connect. b. xii. It was the obstinacy of their own hearts that brought them to destruction; which obstinacy being so great, as that we in English would call it a fatal obstinacy; the Hebrew expression for it was, an obstinacy from the Lord; not meaning hereby, that when any man was tempted he should say he was "tempted of God, for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man," James i. 13. Their obstinacy was their own wilfulness, great, and indeed beyond all common expression, and therefore said to be of the Lord. In this sense I understand what is said of the sound sleep of Saul and his army: not taking the text to mean any more, than that it was so deep a sleep, as might be hard to say how it could be, that they were not awaked out of it.

y Daniel viii. 18.

deep sleep of this sort Daniel was made to understand a vision that appeared to him.[a] And Job in like manner, in *tardemah*, a deep sleep of this kind, when a vision of the night fell upon him, saw a spirit passing before his face, an image before his eyes, and heard a voice.[a] Abram[b] in *tardemah*, this depth of sleep, had a very signal revelation made to him; and, accordingly, such was the *tardemah*, deep sleep, which on the occasion before us fell on Adam. Whether, abstracted from all impressions of his outward senses, he saw, as Balaam speaks, a *vision of the Almighty*;[c] as the book of Job mentions, a spirit, an image, before him,[d] actually performing what was done to him, I cannot determine. But, as Moses has no where said, that Adam ever saw any similitude or appearance to represent God;[e] I rather think, that God was pleased, by impressions, such as the ear usually conveys to the mind, and which God undoubtedly can cause to arise in us, as lively as he pleases, as well without their actually coming through the ear, as if they did come through it; to cause Adam to perceive the same, as if awake he had heard that voice, in which God had before spoken to him, commanding a rib, a bone, to be taken out of him, and seen that it was done; bidding the flesh be closed up instead thereof, and it was so:[f] saying, Let the woman be made

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[a] Daniel viii. 19—26.

[a] Job iv. 13, 15, 16.

[b] Gen. xv. 12—16.

[c] Numbers xxiv. 16.

[d] Job, ubi sup.

[e] We read of no divine appearance to any one before the days of Abraham. See Connect. b. ix.

[f] Gen. ii. 21—23.

hereof, and she was created. Upon Adam's awaking, he found in fact, what in his sleep had been shewed to him: the woman, such in reality as he had before apprehended her, was brought to him; *i. e.* was present before him; and he now using the power of naming things, the exercise of which was upon his mind, as he had just began to practise it, before he fell asleep; having had a clear perception of what had been transacted, said naturally of this new creature; *This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.*[g] But I conceive that Adam ended here: for he in no wise added the words which follow; *Therefore shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh:*[h] for Adam could not yet say what it was to be a father or a mother, and therefore could draw no conclusion concerning them. Moses indeed records these words as now spoken, but he does not say that Adam spake them; and our Saviour has told us, that not Adam, but God himself said this to them. It was He who made them, that said, *For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh.*[i]

The last transaction of this first day of Adam's life was, that after the woman was created, God blessed them both, and said unto them what we read in the 28th, 29th, and 30th verses of the first chapter of Genesis; the particulars of which may be sufficiently considered, if I take a general review of the things concerning Adam said and done in this day.

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[g] Gen. ii. 23. [h] Ver. 24. [i] Matth xix. 4, 5.

One of Dr. Burnet's objections to the history of Moses is, that it heaps together too many things for the space of time allotted to them:[k] and indeed this writer has endeavoured to run together a multiplicity of incidents, and to crowd them all into this one day; in order to represent it as having been a day of great hurry and confusion, rather than such as the day ought to have been, on a cool and deliberate sense of which, and a conduct according to it, depended the life or death; we might say, if there had been no further purpose in the deep counsel of God for us, depended the whole of man. But if we carefully examine, and distinguish what are the facts which Moses ascribes to this one day, and what are not, and in what manner he describes them; we shall see reason to differ widely from this writer. *God breathed into Adam the breath of life*, and caused him to become a *living soul*:[l] but Moses in no wise describes Adam, as soon as he began to think, as abounding instantly in a variety of conceptions concerning his own nature, concerning the Deity, or the works of God, and the fabric of the world.[m] Had Moses brought forth Adam expatiating in such an unbounded wild of sudden and undigested apprehensions, there would have been reason to consider whether the human mind would not have hence

[k] Quantillo tempore hæc omnia peracta narrantur—! Quot autem, et quanta, congerenda sunt in hunc unum diem! Burnet. Archæol. p. 294.

[l] Gen. ii. 7.

[m] We may see a large field of imagination of this kind most beautifully coloured, but in fact and the reason of the thing mere fancy and romance, in Milton, Par. Lost, b. viii.

fallen into great confusion. But there is a propriety in the manner in which Moses brings Adam into the world: he does not tell us, that in order to take his first sight of things, God set him upon a hill, to look around him over the creation; but God put him into a garden, where a few plain and easy objects surrounded and confined his first views from taking in such variety as would have been too much for him. A bounded shade of trees was a scene, which neither fatigued his eye nor gave a multiplicity of conceptions to his mind. In this silent cover from the many things which were in the world, he hears the voice of God, and finds that he knows what was said to him.

The words now spoken to him, were not such as called him into the midst of things to load him with a multitude of sentiments, either of God, of himself, or of what was in the world; or concerning what were to be the moral and relative duties of his life. The voice of God, as yet, spake to him only of the plain objects then visibly before him; called the lofty plants which he saw, the trees of the garden; told him, that he might eat of them all except one; but commanded him not to eat of that one; for that if he did, he should *surely die.*[n] And it is remarkable that this one tree was so distinguished from all others by its situation,[o] that it

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[n] Gen. ii. 16, 17.

[o] It does not seem to me determined, that the tree of life stood also in the midst of the garden. Eve seems rather to hint that the forbidden tree stood single and alone in that situation, Gen. iii. 3. Our 9th verse of the second chapter might be pointed and translated

must, at sight, have been known in order to be avoided, before he had time to make observations, to see wherein one tree differed from another.

May we add, that Adam heard the voice of God declare that it was not good that he should be alone; but that a help, which should be his likeness, should be made for him?[p] Suppose that these words conveyed to him, not all the enlarged notions of the wants and imperfections of solitary life,[q] nor the variety of the comforts of social happiness; the ideas of which could not begin and increase in him, sooner or farther, than a knowledge and experience of life raised and improved them: and suppose that the words suggested to him no more, than that another person like himself should be made to be with him, and that it was good for him to have it so; (a point, which perhaps if God had not told

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thus: "And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food, and the tree of life; in the midst of the garden also, the tree of knowledge of good and evil." And thus this verse would agree exactly with what Eve said in the next chapter.

[p] Gen. ii. 18. vide quæ sup. [q] Milton supposes Adam wonderfully able to expatiate upon the unhappiness of solitude, and the benefits of equal society; to say why God might, but man could not, comfortably be alone. The representation he draws is most delightfully poetical. But we can in no wise think considerately, that Adam could as yet have thoughts like these upon the subject. Milton, Par. Lost, b. viii. 365—435.

him, he would as yet not have thought of;) nothing herein was proposed to him so complex, as that his first thoughts could be in any confusion about it.

The next incident may indeed seem an embarrassment, if we suppose it to have been transacted as it is commonly conceived; but this, I think, I have already obviated. There was no assemblage of the living creatures of the world for Adam to name them, nor could he at any one time make a survey of them; it would have been a work too large for him. But though Adam had heard the voice of God, yet he had not, at this time, made any one word of his own for himself; and we may allow, that the fact of his naming the creatures, as Moses truly states it, shews us very naturally, how the man, having been enabled to understand the words which God had spoken to him, was introduced to begin and exercise himself to make further words for the occasions of his life. The naming one creature taught him how he might name another; and the making names for the creatures gradually apprised him how he had it in his power to name and to speak of all kind of things, for him and Eve to begin and improve a conversible life. In this easy and natural manner, that (to use the words of the author of the book of wisdom,) it was granted to them, to speak as they would of the things which were given them.[r]

Before Adam had proceeded far in naming the creatures, it pleased God to cause him to fall into a deep sleep,[s] wherein no sensations from without gave him

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[r] Wisdom vii. 15. [s] Gen. ii. 21.

any interruption. He had, however, a clear and disimplicated perception of the manner in which Eve was taken out of him; and therein learned to name some parts of his own body, a rib, a bone, his flesh; and from what he had perceived concerning her origin, to name the woman also according to it. And,

After he had received the person made for him, and given her a name reconsidering her extract; He who made them both, said unto them;[t] the voice of God spake what he intended should be the strict and indissoluble union of man and wife in their lives. Relations of life were indeed here suggested, of which Adam and Eve as yet could not have any judgment; for it seems that Adam did not yet know that Eve was to be a mother, or himself a father. It may be observed, that as soon as he knew she was to be the mother of all living, he gave her a name accordingly, and thereupon called her name Eve;[u] but this was not until after the fall, and after the sentence of God passed upon them.[w] However, it may be apprehended, that what God here said must strike their minds, charged as yet with only few things; and be so remembered by them, that when afterwards they came to be a father and a mother, and in time had children grown up to be husbands and wives, they might consider and instruct them, what in the beginning had been said unto them; and how, according to God's original design and commandment, man and wife were inseparably to live together in the world.

Before the close of this their first day, *God blessed*

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[t] Vide quæ sup. [u] Gen. iii. 20. [w] Ibid.

them, and said unto them, be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.[x]— It does not seem, I rather think I may affirm, that our first parents had not yet looked beyond their garden; they had not seen the compass of the world, nor taken account of the numbers of the creatures that were therein. They had not been on the sea shore; nor could they know the inhabitants of the floods, whose paths are in the waters; so that it would be unnatural and absurd to think that the words now spoken to them, were any further understood, than to give them a general expectation of seeing and becoming acquainted with a various and extensive scene of things, far beyond what was yet beheld by, or known to, them. Their garden was the enclosure which at present surrounded them. But they were now informed, that a whole world was to be opened to them; that they should find innumerable living creatures on the land, in the seas, and in the air; and that they themselves should be fruitful and multiply, should replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over, and be, as it were, proprietors of all the living creatures that were created; that there was sustenance provided for all living things, in the fruits of the ground; which were all given without exception or restraint, the one limitation only observed, of one tree in the garden, of which Adam and Eve were not to eat.[y] These intimations were now given them; but

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[x] Gen. i. 28, &c. [y] Gen. i. quæ sup.

they were in no wise instructed by them to know the things spoken of, so fully as every day after more and more led them to understand. What God now spake to them had only this general effect; that, as the world opened to them, nothing in it was so absolutely unexpected as to surprise or confound them; for, remembering what had been said to them, they might, as new things presented themselves, gradually proceed to name, distinguish, and daily grow acquainted with them; to consider how they could use their power over, and make them useful or agreeable.

I might add further, that how much soever of these things was told them, it appears to have been provided for them, that they should not hurry too fast to look into, and after the many things in the world. The day ensuing was to be a Sabbath,[z] a day of rest, to be set apart to recollect and consider all that had been said and shewed to them; that before they proceeded, they might have all the instruction which a repeated review of it could give, distinct upon their hearts. And when the Sabbath was over, they were not instantly at liberty to wander at large over the earth; for their first business was in their garden; where God had given them employment; *to dress it, and to keep it.*[a] Their duty here, if attended to, would so far confine them, that the world would not break in upon them, nor they go into the world faster or farther than they might become gradually able to receive and digest that knowledge of things which would arise from it. In this manner

[z] Gen. ii. 2. [a] Ver. 15.

Moses represents God as having given our first parents the beginning of their lives: and whoever will duly examine the sentiments which he sets before us upon this subject, and compare them with what other writers have fancied and represented; will find none so likely to captivate us as our Milton.[b] I say, whoever will compare Moses with other writers upon this subject, will find, that he deeply entered into the real nature of man; and will be brought to say of him above all others,

> Quanto rectiùs hic ——
> —— nil molitur ineptè. HOR.

His account speaks itself to be fact, and not fable; and though our first thoughts may not fully comprehend what he has written; yet a careful examination of it will shew us, that they who have thought it fable, have not taken pains truly to understand it. I have only to observe, before I close this chapter, that from what has been said we may reasonably conceive, that our first parents were not hurried into any scene, either of things or sentiments, larger or sooner than they were able to form, as they should want them, all such words as the incidents of their lives would call for, over and besides those which God already had, or did afterwards speak to them.

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[b] Paradise Lost.

CHAP. V.

An inquiry, what we may reasonably think to have been, at this time, the actual state of Adam's knowledge.

MOST writers, who have treated of the Fall, give us accounts of what they think was the primitive state of Adam and Eve's knowledge before they committed sin; but their sentiments, however ingenious they may seem, are no better than groundless imaginations. Our English poet represents Adam, when just created, not only as seeing things as they came before him; but instantly knowing their natures, by God's giving him an immediate apprehension of them. Introducing Adam relating how he named the creatures; supposing the hypothesis to have been fact, that God caused an assemblage of the whole animal world, to see what Adam would name every creature, he makes him say of himself,

> I nam'd them as they pass'd, and understood
> Their natures, with such knowledge God endued
> My sudden apprehension.[a]——

That God could, if he had pleased, have thus endowed Adam, can be no question; but that God did not, is plain; for nothing can be more evident, than that nei-

[a] Milton's Paradise Lost, b. viii. 352.

ther Eve nor Adam had in fact this knowledge. They seem both to have been together when the serpent spake to Eve;[b] but neither appears to have been surprised at hearing a serpent speak in man's voice. The observation which they seem to have made upon it was, that *the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field:*[c] they had heard no other creature thus speak, and therefore apprehended that the serpent had higher endowments than other animals. But we have no hint which represents either of them as having been at all aware that the serpent was not by nature as conversible as themselves;[d] a plain indication, that they had no

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[b] The supposing Eve to have gone forth to work separate from Adam on the morning that the temptation befel her, is an ingenious fiction of our poet; which gave him room to introduce an episode as beautiful, and well-ornamented in all its incidents, as human imagination could contrive or can conceive. See Milton's Paradise Lost, b. ix. But I do not see that the text of Moses appears to countenance it: Moses says, that Eve,

ותקח מפריו ותאכל ותתן גם לאישה עמה ויאכל

et edit secum viro etiam et dedit et edit de fructu ejus et cepit

That *she took of the fruit and did eat, and gave also to her husband*, who was with her, *and he did eat.*

[c] Gen. iii. 1. [d] Milton, b. ix. supposes that Eve had been much surprised at hearing the serpent speak; and represents her asking how he came by that ability; to which he answers, that he was raised to that attainment by eating the fruit of the forbidden tree; and that she hence argued, if the dumb animal was so heightened beyond

such knowledge of the animal world as Milton supposes. Milton variously imagines that Adam had this innate sudden apprehension to guide him aright to judge of all things; of the nature of God;[e] and the nature of man;[f] in a word, of every thing knowable, within the reach of the human capacity. In truth, this seems to be the general opinion of writers; who speak of Adam as if he was created a philosopher; had implanted in him a natural fund of all science, instantly informing him of the true nature of things, whenever any of them came before his eyes, or any occasion was given him to have thoughts of them in his mind. They think that he had innate sentiments of all moral duties; and that before the Fall he was ignorant of nothing but of sin: but the history of Moses sets before us plain facts, flatly contradicting all these assertions. If Adam had a true and innate knowledge and apprehension of the nature of God; how could he have been so ignorant of him with whom he had to do, as to think that getting behind the cover of a few trees would hide him

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his natural abilities by eating of this fruit, then well might she and Adam hope to be as God, if they should eat of it. But, however agreeable this fiction is by the manner in which the poet has most elegantly painted it; yet it can only be an elegant fiction. Moses suggests nothing like it, nor is it likely that God would have permitted what might have given a more than ordinary appearance and strength to the temptation. See hereafter.

[e] Milton, b. viii. 357—413, &c. [f] Ibid.

from his presence?[g] or if he philosophically knew himself, had full and innate apprehensions of the use and light of his own reason, and of all that could come within the reach of it; what room could there be for the serpent frivolously to offer to open further, either his eyes or his understanding? Rationally judging, and having a right judgment of every thing that came before, either his outwad perception, or his inward reflection, the serpent's temptation must have appeared intuitively absurd. He would have felt himself not wanting such additions as the serpent suggested; and, besides, would have had a better thought of things, than to be capable of imagining, that the improvements proposed to him could arise from doing what the serpent recommended. We may therefore, if we will write at random, say high things of Adam and Eve's natural and philosophical knowledge; but we can never make it appear that they had as yet much science, if in fact they knew things no better than to think that a serpent might naturally be able to speak to them; or grossly to believe, that meat for the body might be food for the understanding; that the fruit of a tree which they saw growing in their garden, could be a thing *to be desired* to eat *to make one wise*.[h] A sentiment this, not to be digested by any one that has understanding, and conse-

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[g] Gen. iii. 8.—The reader will observe, that this was *after* Adam's Fall, when all his mental powers were debased by the introduction of sin. EDIT.

[h] Gen. iii. 6.

quently must demonstrate that our first parents had as yet attained but little advancement in real knowledge.

Adam, as soon as he received the breath of life, became *a living soul:*[1] but he had a body made of the ground,[k] and his soul was, as our souls are, shut up within the inclosure of this tabernacle. In this state, the things without him, the material objects of this world, could raise in him no ideas, but as sensations of them were conveyed by his outward senses.[l] He could naturally judge of what he thus perceived no farther than ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἀξίως τῶν διδομένων,[m] to think of them suitably to what was given, or presented to him: and if he looked inward upon himself, he could form ideas of his own mind, only as he made trial of its capacity and powers, and thereby came to know them: so that experience only could give him naturally an increase of knowledge. Let us suppose him turning his thoughts from himself to a higher object; to consider Him who made him;

> "Say,—of God above ——
> What *could* he reason, but from what he knew?"—[n]

He knew of God as yet no more, than what the words

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[1] Gen. ii. 7. [k] Ibid.

[l] This, I think, must be allowed as unquestionable. See Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, b. ii. c. 1; unless we could imagine that Adam had been a creature originally furnished with different abilities to perceive the things without him, other than the *five operations* or senses, which the author of Ecclesiasticus represents that he had been endued with as we are. Ecclus. xvii. 5.

[m] Wisdom vii. 15. [n] Pope's Essay on Man, ep. 1.

which God had spoken to him could teach, or his own few and first observations of things done might lead him to infer.

There are indeed some texts of scripture, which, if not rightly considered, may lead us into a mistake in this matter. St. Paul tells us of the Gentiles, who had not had the light of the law of Moses, that they did *by nature the things contained in the law*: not having the law, *they were a law unto themselves: which*, he says, *shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts....accusing, or else excusing one another*.[o] Are we then to conclude from hence, that God has actually written, as it were, or implanted innate sentiments of duty upon the heart of man? I rather apprehend, that a true essay of the human understanding; a true judgment of whatever was, or still is, the ability of man, will shew us, that a capacity of attaining just notions of our duties, and not an actual possession of real sentiments of them, is the utmost of what the first man was created in, or any of us are born to: and a careful examination of what is offered by St. Paul, will in no wise lead us to conclude more. The apostle elsewhere tells us, speaking of the Gentiles, that *that which may be known of God* was *manifest in them, for* that *God* had *shewed it unto them*.[p] The question is, how had God shewed it? Had God planted it innate in their hearts? This was not the sentiment of St. Paul; rather, he tells us, *that God* had shewed it unto them; *for* or because *the*

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[o] Rom. ii. 14, 15. [p] Rom. i. 19.

invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made.[q] The Gentile nations, of whom the apostle here and elsewhere treats, had so far read the volume of the book of nature, had so far heard of, or known and considered the works of God, as to be *without excuse*, if the thence apparent duties of their nature were not collected by them. But we should in fact be mistaken, and err from the meaning of St. Paul,[r] if we expect to find implanted in men's hearts real characters of their duties further than the book of nature has been read and considered by them; or they have attained a knowledge of them, more or less perfect, as they have happened to hear of, and be instructed from, some of the revelations which God has made to the world. Consequently, speaking rationally of Adam, whilst he had as yet heard and seen but a very few of God's works, and those few had not been so repeatedly examined by him, and compared with things which in time followed, as to give him a various trial, and an enlarged and corrected judgment; he cannot be thought to have attained a great extent of any kind of knowledge. All natural science has grown amongst men, as observation has gradually increased it; therefore, to say of Adam, that as soon as he lifted up his eyes, after he was created, and saw the sun, moon, and stars, which gave light upon the earth, he instantaneously knew that these lights of heaven were to be *for signs and for seasons, for days and for years*;[s] is to talk very irrationally.

[q] Rom. i. 20. [r] Ibid. [s] Gen i. 14.

He cannot be supposed to have known, before his first evening shewed it, that the sun was to have a going down; nor can we imagine that the next morning told him of the rising day, what would have enabled him to have said with the poet,

——— aliusque et idem
Nasceris ——————— HOR.

He could not have told, whether the rising sun of his second day was a new one; or the same which had the day before shone upon him. In time he formed a better judgment of these and other appearances: but as many ages, abounding in all kinds of learned disquisitions, passed, before it was apprehended that the sun did not move round the earth; it must be a wild notion to think, that in the beginning of the world our first father was possessed of an innate astronomy. All notions of his innate knowledge of the nature of the animals, must, if thus considered, fall likewise to the ground; for he could know nothing of them until he observed them; and then, nothing farther than what he observed, or concluded from observations made of them. And, of God, he knew that he had received an audible injunction not to eat of one tree: and he had heard from the same voice other particulars; and in the formation of Eve, he had had a sensible conviction, that he who spake to him had great power to make or create, and consequently to destroy. Hence, as soon as he had disobeyed, he reasoned, that he might justly be afraid: he *was afraid, and hid* himself:[t] but having had no-

[t] Gen. iii. 10.

thing yet told or shewed him, whereby he might consider the omnipresence of God, the imperfection of his own sight led him to imagine that he might get out of God's sight, if he hid himself behind the cover of a few trees. Respecting himself he had experienced, that he saw, and heard, and felt, and lived; that he tasted the food he was to eat; that it revived his spirits, and *strengthened* his *heart*:[u] and though I must think that he had a clear intellect to reason and conclude of things as far, though no farther, than they appeared to him, or he had experience of them; yet, hitherto, he could have made no advancement in knowledge, which could shew him whether there were or were not juices in the fruit of a particular tree, which might literally *cheer both God and man*;[w] give fresh life and spirits to the body, and likewise wisdom and understanding to the mind. Therefore he did not hereupon know enough to argue and refute the falsehood which Eve's imagination seems to have proposed, that the tree was *to be desired to make one wise*.[x]

It will, I am sensible, be here said by some, that they do not assert Adam and Eve as having had any *innate* actual knowledge: but they apprehend that both our first parents had been created with such powers of capacity, that they would naturally form just and true notions of things, as they came under their inspection and observation; so as not really to want any further instruction concerning any thing which they ought to

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[u] Psal. civ. 15. [w] Judges ix. 13. [x] Gen. iii. 6.

could be obliged to know, than what might naturally arise to them from their own senses and understanding. Our modern rationalists think, that they can not only support this notion from reason, but can bring scripture also to confirm it. They argue, that "Moses says, that *God created man in his own image*,[y] and that Solomon tells us, that *God made man upright*;[z] the meaning of both which expressions, taken together, imports, they say, that man was endued with rational moral faculties, resembling the moral perfections of his Creator: was made perfect in his kind, capable to know and fulfil the duties, and attain the end of his creation, by a right use of his rational faculties, which were given him to be the guide and rule of his life and actions: and therefore that the reason which God gave, must have been sufficient to direct him to those duties which God required of him, and to conduct him to that happiness, which is the natural effect, or by God's will the appointed reward, of the performance of it."

The writer, from whom I have cited these words, did, I dare say, conceive that he had guarded his expressions in a manner liable to no exception; but he has, I think, the misfortune common to these writers, not to hit the least tittle of the meaning in the texts which they cite.

God, he says from Moses, created man in his own image. It must, I think, be indisputable, that in a most obvious sense of the words, man's being created in the image of God, may refer to the make of his body;

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[y] Gen. i. 17. [z] Eccles. vii. 29.

and intimate, that he was formed not after the fashion of any other living creature, but was made in a pattern higher than they: a more excellent form than theirs was given to him,

> Pronaque cum spectant animalia cætera terras,
> Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
> Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.
>
> Ov. Met.[a]

It is an expression not unfrequent in the Hebrew scriptures, to say of things, that they are of God, if they are in quality eminent above others, which have no more than common perfections. Thus, trees of a prodigious growth are called trees of God, or the trees of the Lord: such were the cedars of Lebanon; so greatly flourishing and full of sap, as to be for that reason called the trees of the Lord, trees which he had planted.[b] And thus man might be said to be made in the image of God: his outward form was of a different make; far more respectable, and superior to the make of all other creatures in the world. Accordingly, to

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[a] In like manner the Roman philosopher: "Figuram corporis habilem et aptam ingenio humano dedit: nam cum cæteros animanteis abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, ad cœlique———conspectum excitavit; tum speciem ita formavit oris, ut in eâ penitùs reconditos mores affingeret; nam et oculi nimis arguti, quemadmodum animi affecti simus, loquuntur, et is, qui appellatur vultus, qui nullo in animante esse præter hominem potest, indicat mores." Cic. de Legib. lib. 1.

[b] Psalm civ. 16.

speak suitably of it, the expression is used, which in the language of Moses' times was commonly said of any thing, which was so superlatively excellent as to have nothing like to, or to be compared with it. No image of any thing in the world was equal to, or like that of man; therefore man was said to be created in the image of God.

I would observe, that from St. Paul it appears, that the expression of Moses may carry this meaning: *A man*, he says, *ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man.*[c] The apostle is here inquiring, not into the dignity of the mind or soul of the man or the woman; but considering what ought to be the outward appearance or dress of their persons. He would not have the man's head covered, because the man was the image of God: his form was original, not the copy of another; and therefore to express its original superiority above all others, is said to be of God. But the woman herein was inferior; being made after the likeness and similitude of man; therefore, in the sentiment of the apostle, she ought to wear a covering upon her head, in acknowledgment that she was not *suæ formæ*, the original pattern of the make she was of. She was herein inferior to the man,[d] in that the glory or dignity of her make was his; she was the glory of the

[c] 1 Cor. vii. [illegible] I would here observe, that in ancient times, [illegible] ero customs, the having the head fo[illegible] ance of being covered, was a [illegible] y; and so the con-

man, the high excellence of her make was but a copy of what he, the man, was made in before her.

But the words of Moses bear also a further sense; yet not what the writer I have cited would put upon them. *God created man to be immortal, and made him an image of his own eternity.*[e] Now here a great original difference may appear to have been intended between *the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward:*[f] and that Moses had in view this particular, when he said of man that he was created in the image of God, seems agreeable to the reason given for the early law pronounced against murder: '*whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man.*'[g] God so made man to be immortal, that it is a high insult and violence against the design of God's creation, to put an end by murder to the life of man. Therefore, *surely, at the hand of every man's brother will God require the life of man.*[h] This explains our Saviour's calling the devil a *murderer from the beginning;*[i] he had acted contrary to the design of God concerning the life of man, because, when God had created man in his own image; to be an image of his own eternity; to be immortal; *nevertheless, through envy of the devil, death came into the world.*[k]

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trary, to wear a covering on the head was a token of inferiority and subjection.

[e] Wisdom ii. 23.
[f] Eccles. iii. 21.
[g] Gen. ix. 6.
[h] Ver. 5.
[i] John viii. 44.
[k] Wisdom ii. 24.

Thus if we explain the text of Moses, without going beyond what was intended by it, we shall find, that it means no more, than that man was originally made of a more excellent form than all other creatures, and that he was made to be immortal; had not death, which God did not make for man,[l] come into the world through sin.[m] There is very little foundation to infer from this text, that Moses intended to represent, that man was made to resemble his Maker in his powers of knowledge.[n] Such a thought is so far from being deducible

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[l] Wisdom i. 13. [m] Rom. v. 12.

[n] If we examine what the heathen inquirers argued upon this subject, we shall find them far more correct than our modern reasoners. They all, indeed, (except a more sensual sect, Epicurus and his followers, see Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 18.) saw plainly, that man could in no wise resemble God in his outward form and figure. Therefore they would have understood Moses' expression of man's being *made in the image of God*, as to his outward form, in no higher sense than I have above mentioned; namely, that man was of an extraordinary and singular make, eminent above other creatures, of a form appropriated to man. As to his inward powers, they saw in them what was far more worthy than his outward person to be compared to God. "Tu— sic habeto NON ESSE TE MORTALEM, SED CORPUS HOC. Nec enim is, quem forma ista declarat, sed mens cujusque is est quisque; non ea figura, quæ digito demonstrari potest; Deum te igitur scito esse, si quidem Deus est, qui viget, qui sentit, qui meminit, qui providit, qui tàm regit et moderatur et movet id corpus cui præpositus est, quàm hunc mundum ille princeps Deus. Cic. Somn. Scipionis." But however they thus thought in general terms of a

from this text, that it is absolutely contradictory to what Moses expresses upon the subject; for, their de-

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resemblance in man of the divine nature, they always, when the subject called for it, so explained themselves, as not loosely to assert, that in man, motus iste celer cogitationis, acumen, solertia, quam rationem vocamus, Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 27. the mere faculty of human reason made man like to God. They rather argued, that the likeness of man to God arose from this faculty so managed and conducted that we might possess virtue. Ad similitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus quàm figura. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 34. And thus Plato, ουκ εστιν αυτω ὁμοιοτατον ουδεν η ος αν ἡμων αυ γενηται οτι δικαιοτατος. Plat. in Theæatet. Thus again, Ὁμοιωσις θεω ——— δικαιον και ὅμοιον μετα φρονησεως γενεσθαι. Id. ibid. Again, Ὁ μεν σωφρων ἡμων θεω φιλος ὁμοιος γαρ ὁ δε μη σωφρων ἀνομοιος τε και διαφορος και αδικος. Plat. de Legib. lib. 4. We are here to observe, that these ancients, in no wise like our modern rationalists, crudely affirm, that man is endowed with moral faculties, resembling the moral perfections of his Creator; but they distinguish the faculties of man, as then only rendering us like God when they are so conducted as to make us σωφρονες, so truly wise, as to be really virtuous. They did not determine that our likeness to God consisted in our barely having a faculty of free reason; but they considered, that we could then only be like God when we became just and holy, δικαιοι και οσιοι μετα φρονησεως· or, in other words, when we attained *a right understanding to depart from iniquity*. They observed the difference between reason and right reason: they pointed out a height of reason, with which whosoever are endued, may in all things act intuitively aright, but this they allowed to be above man: quartus autem gradus et altissimus

sire to be *ke Elohim*; as, or like to, God in *knowing*,[o] was the mistake which caused our first parents' ruin.

Let us now see how the other text will answer the purpose designed to be served by it. *God*, said Solomon, *made man upright*:[p] The words of Solomon are, God made the man, *yashar*, which we might render *aright*: God implanted in him nothing that was wrong. Adam, before the fall, had not in him the evil inclinations of a corrupt nature; and the not having these, was the rectitude in which he was created. When the sentence of death passed upon him, he, who before was an image of God's eternity, was now become mortal, his body became corruptible; and a *corruptible body presseth down the soul*.[q] He now began to have sensual appetites and desires, which created him many inclinations which he had to strive against, if he would strive

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est eorum qui naturâ boni sapientesque gignuntur, quibus à principio innascitur ratio recta, constansque, quæ supra hominem putanda est, Deoque tribuenda. Cic. lib. 2. c. 13. Herein they stated the great difference between the human nature and divine; they allowed God to be the standard of all rectitude and truth; but they affirmed that man in no wise was so; but wanted a measure or rule to adjust his judgment by, in order to act aright. Ὁ δὴ Θεος ἡμιν παντων χρηματων μετρον αν ειη μαλιστα, και πολυ μαλλον η τις, ως φασιν, ανθρωπος. Plato de Leg. lib. 4. Which one point, duly considered, is that sobriety of knowing and estimating ourselves, which will lead us to admit both the sentiments I have above observed that Moses hinted, and what I endeavour to build upon it.

[o] Gen. ii. 22. [p] Wisd. ix. 15. [q] Ibid.

against sin. He was now fallen into the imperfection under which we all labour,

——Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor——

He might now many times see and approve the things which are most excellent; and yet have a heart that might cause him often to be such as the best of us are, who, as there is *no man upon earth that sinneth not*,[r] do *in many things offend all*.[s] But though before he became corruptible he had not in him those evil appetites, which are since grown so powerful in our nature; yet it will not follow that God originally gave him such a beam of unerring understanding, as to place him in a light which would not admit of mistake and error.

Decipimur specie recti—— HOR.

To this failure Adam was subject in his first estate; and herein it was that he fell from it: both Eve and he judged what the tempter proposed to them to be very right, although it was grossly wrong; and in the error of their judgment they went astray; their appetites were not the strength which prevailed against them. In their judgment lay their weakness; they were misled, they were *deceived*. Thus St. Paul speaks of their transgressions, not imputing it to their corrupt inclinations, but to their erring in their understanding; *the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety*;[t] the insinuation of the tempter became too subtle for them. Herein,

[r] 1 Kings viii. 46. [s] James iii. 2. [t] 2 Cor. xi. 3.

therefore, the writers who use the text of Solomon with the view above mentioned, mistake his true meaning. From Solomon's asserting, that *God made man upright*, they would infer, that God gave Adam a perfection of actual understanding, by which he might, without further direction, have devised his own way aright, to complete himself in every moral virtue; whereas Solomon says no more, than that God made man (*yashar*) *rectus*, i. e. not crooked or perverse: or, as we render it in English, upright, *i. e.* not inclined, or propense to evil. Solomon says that Adam had originally a rectitude of heart or inclination; but these writers would infer, that he had a perfection of head, an unerring judgment; whereas these are two very different things. I can apprehend that Adam had a natural capacity, quick and lively, far greater than we have; but as he had far less acquaintance with, and information of, the nature of things, than even we have had; his actual knowledge at the time of his being seduced, must have been less than our knowledge is: consequently it happened in fact, that he erred in a matter, wherein no one of a moderate share of improved understanding would have been so grossly mistaken.

But may we not correct a little the expressions used in setting forth this pretended rational scheme contended for, and query upon the subject as follows? Is not *the spirit of man the candle of the Lord?*[u] Is there not *a spirit in man*,[w] created with abilities of reasoning suited to his state? Is there not herein a natural *inspira-*

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[u] Prov. xx. 27. [w] Job xxxii. 8.

tion of the Almighty to give man *understanding*[x] as soon as he grows up to know the use of it? And if Adam was created not a child, but a man; if he was created upright, having a right heart not biassed by evil appetites; must he not have had all the powers of a sound mind? And what can we say or think he could want more? Would not things have gradually appeared to him in their true light? His mind not corrupted would have admitted them to have been rationally considered; and his knowledge, as it grew and increased, being sincere and unbiassed, would have led him in a right use of his reason[y] unto true sentiments of his duty, as the relations of life came to be known to him; so that he might by his own natural light have gone wisely and virtuously through the world. I might cite many passages from the best and most virtuous heathen writers, to shew, that they seem sometimes to have thought the humau ability of this sort.[z] But I might again cite other places from

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[x] Job xxxii. 8. I think I need not here observe, that the word נשמת here used, which we translate *inspiration*, is the word used by Moses, Gen. ii. 7. to signify the *inspiration*, or *breath* of life; and that therefore we may justly here take it to mean, not what we Christians call the *grace of God*, but rather that original ability of mind which God has given unto man.

[y] παυλα τα προς την κλησιν των αγαθων συνιλλοντα δια βραχιων ἐπιγραψειν ὁ λογος το τῆς ψυχης αυτοκινητον. Hierocles.

[z] Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, naturæ congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quæ vocet ad officium jubendo; vetando a fraude deterreat. Cic. de Rep. lib. 3. in

them, which lay a foundation for not being positive in this nice disquisition;[a] and herein they preserved a sincerity of inquiry, far more to be respected than the ar-

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fragment. Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum naturâ et ad rectè faciendum impellens et à delicto avocans. Id. de Leg. lib. 2.

[a] Si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam ipsam intueri et perspicere, eâdemque optimâ duce cursum vitæ conficere possemus; haud erat sanè quòd quisquam rationem ac doctrinam requireret: nunc parvulos nobis dedit igniculos quos celeriter malis moribus opinionibusque deprivati sic restinguimus, ut nusquam naturæ lumen appareat. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 3. in init.—Est profectò animi medicina philosophia. Id. ibid. This able writer appears to me here to allow, that men by nature are not so made as to look at once to the bottom and truth of things; to see without further information, than the prompt suggestion of their own reasonings, the true relations of things and the moral duties of their lives. Had he known what we do from Moses, of the true origin of mankind, he would, I dare say, have allowed, that it might be necessary for man, when he first came into the world, not to be left absolutely to himself, to be guided by the *parvulos igniculos*, as he calls them, which God had given him. He would have considered man, as not admitted *naturam ipsam intueri*, but so far only endowed, as that though he had received *rationem a Deo*, yet he might make it *bonam aut non bonam a seipso*. (The reader may find this sentiment suggested by one of the disputants, in Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3.) Therefore he would have rejoiced in the clear light which he would have had, of man's having all the *rationem et disciplinam*, which he supposes him to want, from the directions, which, over and above his reason, God began, as soon as man came into being, by express revelation to give unto him.

rogant forwardness of our modern contenders for the sufficiency of human reason. These latter seldom fail to shew an unwarrantable disposition to assume, without proving, that God gave no revelation; until men had first departed from the guidance of their reason, and wanted to be brought back, to be told the use and the light of it. And they hastily conclude, that if human reason at first was not in itself a sufficient guide and direction for man; it will follow, that God did not sufficiently provide for him. They tell us, "that God at first left men to the guidance of natural light, by a due use of reason to discover what best became the station they were placed in; and what duties were incumbent upon them, in the relation they stood to God as their Creator, and to one another as fellow-creatures; expecting no service from them, but what their own reason would suggest, and the very nature and circumstances of their being would have recommended."--And they add, that "God did not interpose until man had herein greatly failed."---But all this is directly contrary to what Moses informs us; according to whom, after Adam was created, before he had time to do, I might say to think, of good or evil; the voice of God commanded him, saying, *Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.*[b] A command was herein given, such as the reason of man would not have investigated, had not the voice of

[b] Gen. ii. 16, 17.

God appointed it to him; consequently, a service or observation was herein expected from him, other than what his own reason would have suggested. But these writers will perhaps say of this particular command, that it is *allegory* and not *a fact*. Let us then proceed, and we shall find, that as soon as Eve was created, Adam and she were told, that *a man* should *leave his father and his mother, and* should *cleave unto his wife, and* that *they should be one flesh*. This command, as Moses states it, was, our Saviour tells us, spoken to them by the voice of God. Herein, then, there is no allegory; herein we have the witness of a greater than Moses, that Moses related what was really fact. And it is a testimony, which, duly considered, will prove, that both our Saviour used, and the Jews also, to whom our Saviour spake, received the accounts of what Moses relates to have been done in the beginning, not as allegory and fable; but to be read and cited as true history.[c] God, in fact, declared to Adam and Eve, what was to be the inseparable union of man and wife; and therefore herein they were not "left at first to the guidance of natural light, by a due use of reason to discover what best became the station they were placed in to one another;" but received a special direction by an audible voice from their Maker concerning this relation of life, before they had in any one thing failed in the use of their reason.

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[c] *Have ye not read?* said our Saviour, appealing, as to fact, to what was recorded in Moses' writings. See Matth. xix. 4, &c. above cited.

What these writers say further, that to suppose reason, the reason of man, "in itself in any state or circumstances an insufficient guide, is directly to impeach the Author of reason; is to say, that God did not give man sufficient abilities to know and to do his duty."—This is equally dogmatical; contradictory to what we are informed by Moses was, in fact, the manner in which, and the abilities with which, Adam and Eve were brought into the world. Moses does not say, that God originally gave Adam a sufficiency of knowledge, for him to depend solely upon it; but he abundantly shews us, that man was not left insufficiently provided for, because he shews us how God would by his voice have directed, as directions would be necessary for him. Upon the whole; the texts of scripture above cited, to shew that there is in man a light of reason, do in no wise determine to what degree it is given; therefore they are not in themselves conclusive against the necessity of revelation. And whatever else has been offered, may at best be but the conceits of mere imagination, and therefore intrinsically vain; so that I apprehend, if we would proceed as we ought in this inquiry, it may pertinently be examined, whether in the reason of things it may not be right, that the infinite Creator should make a rank of rational beings, so far endowed with reason, as to be above the restraint and confinement of instinct; and yet not endued with so unerring a beam of reason, as to need no further direction, than what would arise from the intimations of their own breasts. After such an inquiry, carefully made, we may consider whether man was the creature made, in this rank; and whether the directions mentioned by

Moses, as originally given to the man, may not be apprehended to have been the most proper means to supply his defects, to make him perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every thing necessary to answer the great end of his creation and being.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the points above stated.

THE creation of God, as far as we can examine it, in the things which may be known by us, shews a wonderful connexion between all these things. If we go to what I would call the lowest, the most dead and inorganical parts of matter; it is a question, whether vegetative life does not subsist in all. It is indeed so slow, in some, that it will escape our first inspection; but stones and minerals in time shew enough of it, though it be hard to conceive how small its first beginnings are, that probably there is not any thing in the natural world wherein it really is not to be found. We may trace a gradual increase of the circulation of it, from the more inert parts, as it were, of matter, to trees, shrubs, plants, and flowers; whose living growth is more and more conspicuous, and daily ornamented with new appearances of accrescent variety and alteration. And how near do some of these come to almost a visible con-

nexion with the animal world? It is difficult to ascertain how much more sensation there is in an oyster, if there really are not living animals of less sensation than an oyster; of whose motion we can hardly say more, than that it opens its shell, to take in the water and soil which is to feed it, and shuts at the approach of any thing which may more sensibly affect it; than in those plants which open their flowers to the soft and warm air, but will instantly close up and shrivel if any grosser object be moved near enough to touch them. If we proceed through the innumerable varieties of animal life, until we come to those beings in whom the breath is most conspicuous; if we consider the difference of discernment in these, and carry on the progression until we enter the rational world; we may find, says an ingenious writer,[a] that some brutes seem to have as much reason and knowledge as some who are called men; so that the animal and rational creation do so nearly approach, that if you take the highest of the one, and compare it with the lowest of the other, there will scarcely be perceived a difference between them. The variety in the capacities of men being considered, will carry us over a vast field, and bring us to the borders of the angelic state; for man was made only *a little lower than the angels*.[b] How far, had sin not come into the world, and death by sin, the highest and most perfect men might have improved and come near to the lowest order of angels, we cannot say. But if,

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[a] See Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, book iii. c. 6. [b] Heb. ii. 7.

from what we can see of the creation, we may reason concerning things invisible; supposing that God created the first man with the highest capacity, which could belong to his rank of being; yet knowing, that he was made *a little lower than the angels*; that the lowest of these intelligences was made greater than he; we cannot place him higher, than upon an ascent next between the animal and more intellectual state. And when we consider how it answers the analogy of things, that all the intellectual powers should rise gradually, one order above another, to complete a fulness in God's creation of the heavens and of the earth;[c] it will not be unreasonable to suppose, that God created man with such powers indeed of reason, as to be above all that can be called animal life; yet not with so masterly a light of reason, as absolutely to want no assistant information. Mr. Pope has excellently well expressed what I am aiming at. In the creation of God, he observes, that as

——— All must full, or not coherent be,
And all that rises, rise in due degree;
Then in the scale of life and sense 'tis plain,
There must be somewhere such a rank as man;
Plac'd on the isthmus of a middle state,
A being darkly wise and rudely great.[d]

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[c] Without this Plato thought the heavens would be imperfect. ουρανος ἀτελης εσται, τα γαρ αναιδια εν αυτω γενη ζωων ουκ εχει. διο δε α μελλει τελειον εκανως ειναι. Plato in Timæo.

[d] Pope's Essay on Man, ep. 1 and 2.

There must be somewhere, in ascending from sense to the height of reason, a rank of creatures above the confinement and limitation of instinct; but not so perfect in their powers of reason, as to stand in need of none other than their own direction.

Of this rank the poet deemed man, estimating him made,

> With too much knowledge for the sceptic side,
> With too much weakness for the stoic's pride.[e]

To have light enough to see how he may, with a sufficient certainty, from known premises draw many important conclusions, but not light enough absolutely to rest satisfied in the sufficiency of his own wisdom.[f] The poet gives us many rational intimations, that man must originally have been formed in this line of being, that there might be a just gradation in the works of God:

> ——— that progressive life may go
> Around its width, its depth extend below,
> Vast chain of being, which from God began,
> Nature's ethereal, human, angel man,
> Beast, bird, fish, insect! what no eye can see,
> No glass can reach! from infinite to thee,
> From thee to nothing.[g]———

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[e] Pope's Essay on Man, ep. 2. ver. 5.

[f] The stoic's pride here hinted at, is, I think, what is expressed in the latter part of the following sentence: Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est; fortunam a Deo petendam esse, a seipso sumendam esse sapientiam. Vide Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 36.

[g] Pope's Essay on Man, ep. 1. ver. 199.

The poet farther expatiates upon the subject,

Far as creation's ample range extends
The scale of sensual, mental pow'rs ascends:
Mark how it mounts, to man's imperial race,
From the green myriads in the peopled grass!
How instinct varies in the groveling swine,
Compar'd, half-reas'ning elephant! with thine:
'Twixt that and reason what a nice barrier,
For ever sep'rate, yet for ever near:[h]

And he further hints, that we ought not to think it wrong, that man, made to be of this order, has not a large share of reason to guide him.

——— say not man's imperfect, heav'n in fault,
Say rather man's as perfect as he ought:
His being measur'd to his state and place.

Presumptuous man! the reason would'st thou find,
Why form'd so weak, so little, and so blind;
First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
Why form'd no weaker, blinder, and no less.

What would this man? would he now upward soar?
And, little less than angel, would be more?
——————— on superior powers
Were we to press, inferior must on ours;
Or in the full creation leave a void,
Where one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd.
The gen'ral order since the whole began,
Is kept in nature, and is kept in man.[i]

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[h] Pope's Essay, ep. 1. ver. 199. [i] Ibid. ver. 35—163. 233.

These sentiments do, I think, most clearly lead us to see, that, in the reason of things, there must be somewhere in the universe a being of such, and no greater powers of reason, than are here supposed to belong to man. And that this is our true standard, has been the opinion of the best writers,[k] and has been confirmed in fact by the experience of all ages.[l] So that to talk of man having unerring reason, or of our wanting no further instruction[m] than a careful attendance to the result of our own judgment; is a vanity which might be sufficiently exposed in the sentiment mentioned in the book of Job: *Vain man would be wise, though man be born*

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[k] It is the sentiment expressed by Cicero, that we are not creatures made able by nature; Naturam ipsam intueri et perspicere, eâdemque optimâ duce cursum vitæ conficere; but that we want for this purpose, what he calls *rationem ac doctrinam*, having only *igniculos*, which, if not properly fed and cherished, will fail and be extinguished. See Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 3. in princip. sup. cit. Quartus autem gradus et altissimus eorum est, qui naturâ boni sapientesque gignuntur: quibus a principio innascitur ratio, recta constansque, quæ supra hominem putanda est, deoque tribuenda. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. c. 13.

[l] Our scriptures rightly tell us, that *there is no man who may not sin:* 1 Kings viii. 4. *There is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good and may not sin:* Eccles. vii. 20. The philosophers say, Sapientiam nemo assequitur. Vide Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 32.

[m] Nam, ut nihil interest, utrum nemo valeat, an nemo possit valere, sic non intelligo, quid intersit, utrum nemo sit sapiens, an nemo esse possit. Vide Cic. ibid.

like a wild ass's colt:[n] such an independence of understanding is a height for which we were not made. We may think of ourselves as we please; but from the beginning to this time, even from the time when Adam was brought into the world, until now, *he that* has thus absolutely *trusted in his own heart*[o] has been *a fool.* How peculiar then is it to the nature of man, that God, as soon as he was created, made to him, as Moses relates, an especial revelation? If the perfection of man could have arisen merely from his reason, without doubt no such revelation would have been given him; for the all-wise God does nothing superfluous or in vain.[p] Therefore since a revelation was in fact made to man in the beginning; hence we know, that it was necessary, and that his original reason was not alone sufficient for him. As to those who say that the narration of a revelation made to the first man is a mere allegory and fable; let them not pretend to argue, that if the original reason of man was not alone a sufficient guide, then it must follow, that God did not sufficiently provide for the creature made thus imperfect; for the answer hereto is, that the revelation given to Adam, and intended to have been continued over and above his

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[n] Job xi. 12. [o] Prov. xxviii. 26.

[p] The argument used by the apostle concerning the law, might, I think, be justly accommodated to the topic before us, in words as follow: for if there had been reason given unto Adam, such as, or so sufficient, that it might have given him life, verily his righteousness would have been by his reason. See Gal. iii. 21.

natural reason, would have been sufficient for man's natural weakness, and have thoroughly instructed him more and more unto every good work, if it had not been set aside and disregarded by him.

CHAP. VII.

Some further considerations concerning the original state of our first parents; the nature of the first command, or prohibition made to them; and wherein consisted the sin of their not observing it.

THE point we considered in the foregoing chapter was, how far we may reasonably conjecture, from the rank and order of being in which man was formed, that he was made a creature not of absolute independent understanding; I would here observe, that a most excellent writer has hinted to us this very thing. The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus enumerates those endowments with which, and the direction under which God thought fit to bring our first parents into the world. *The Lord*, he says, *created man of the earth—they received the use of the five operations of the Lord, and in the sixth place he imparted them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof: counsel and a tongue, eyes, and ears, and a*

heart, gave he them to understand.[a] In these and the three following verses, he remarks, how God gave unto man his five senses, his ability of speech and understanding. But he had before observed, that when God made man in the beginning, *he left him in the hand of his counsel.*[b] The question is, in whose counsel was man now left? The Latin version says *sui consilii, his own counsel*; but very absurdly: the Greek text is, ἀφηκεν αυτον εν χειρί Διαβουλίου αυτου· not εαυτου *his own*, but αυτου *his*, *i. e. God's counsel.* Now this truly agrees with what follows in the next verse, if man would have conformed to it; his duty was to have kept the commandments, καὶ πίστιν ποιησαι ευδοκίας.[c] He was to have paid unto God υπακοην της πίστεως, *the obedience of faith*; which intimation is no other than what is the substance of all revealed religion; that *without faith* it was *impossible* man should *please God*;[d] for, not to follow absolutely the counsels of man's own heart;[e] but to *fear God, and* to *keep his commandments*, was to have been *the whole of man.*[f] This is what Moses sets before us, who tells us, that God made man; but over and besides making him *a living soul*, and creating him, as Solomon speaks, yashar, *aright*, having nothing in him un-

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[a] Ecclus. xvii. 1—9. [b] Ibid. xv. 14.

[c] Ibid. [d] Heb. xi. 6.

[e] The following our own counsels, is, in scripture-meaning, the deserting or departing from what God has revealed, to do what seemeth *right in our own eyes.* See Psal. lxxi. 11, &c. and many other places, which might be cited.

[f] Eccles. xii. 13.

meet for an intelligence of his order and rank in being; having given him senses and understanding in such measure as his Maker thought fit to bestow:[5] over and above all, he gave him a commandment, which, if he would have faithfully kept to and observed, would have led him unto every thing sufficient for him. But,

The difficulty, which objectors raise against interpreting literally what Moses relates of the command here said to be given; lies in their conceiving the command itself as in no wise rationally conducing to man's per-

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[5] Eccles. vii. 20. His imperfect reason would have been the occasion of no evil, if he had not departed from observing the commandments of God. Adam's ability of reason was such as it ought to be in one of his rank in being, and the important thing to him was, to

> Know thy own point, this kind, this due degree
> Of blindness, weakness, heav'n bestows on thee.
>
> POPE, ubi sup.

He ought not to have aimed to be knowing as God, but obeying what God commanded; thereby to have learned and done the duties of his life, but,

> ——— In reas'ning pride our error lies,
> All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies:
> Men would be angels, angels would be gods:
> Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell;
> Aspiring to be angels, men rebel:
> And who but wishes to invert the laws
> Of order, sin against the Eternal Cause.
>
> POPE, ubi sup.

fection. It is impossible, they think, that such a being as God is, should appoint so great a weight, of the happiness or misery of mankind, to depend upon a matter in itself of such little real importance, as the eating or not eating of the fruit of a particular tree.[h] Here I confess they start, what ought to be examined very considerately, and is not to be so hastily determined as some imagine; who, I think, add to, instead of removing the stumbling-block by their unaccountable ratiocination. They say, "God had laid the whole stress and weight of his authority upon this one command: if, say they, you suppose a case so circumstanced, that if a son's disobedience to a father, in some one particular, in itself of no moment, will infer not merely a neglect, but even a contempt of his parent's authority; be the matter of the offence what it will, will it not deserve the severest resentment? What the son thinks a trivial thing, and in common estimation may pass as such, he will presume his father will think so too: but had his father expressly laid the whole weight of his authority upon this one thing; had he expressly said before-hand, Son, whatever else you may think to do to please or shew regard to me, shall have no acceptance, unless in this one easy thing, which I make and appoint to be the test of your duty, you carefully obey me; for, upon your failure herein, I will most absolutely treat you as a rebel. Should the son, after all this, presume to offend in

[h] Id utique videtur gravissimum et asperrimum quòd gentem humanam plexisse, imò perdidisse dicatur Deus ob rem exiguam. Burnet Archæol. p. 296.

I might say, necessary to be given him? and whether, this command being broken, it could otherwise be, in the reason and nature of things, as God had made them, unless he had created them anew, than that the punishment and ruin threatened for man, must take place; for otherwise, he might not have had a way back to honour, glory, and immortality. If we can in such examination as this, search and find any grounds to believe that God, in what Moses writes, had dispensed to our first parents no otherwise, than what was suitable and agreeable to their natures; we shall see great reason for all that is set before us concerning the proceedings of his providence, as Moses has related them.

The prophet Jeremiah argued with the Jews, that God spake not unto their fathers—*concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices: but this thing commanded he them, saying, obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people.*[i] Hence arises a directing intimation, that the great end and design of the legal institutions were to discipline and to exercise the Jews to obey God. In like manner, when God thought fit to make the covenant of circumcision with Abraham; the declared design of what was instituted was, that Abraham should walk before God, and thereby *be perfect.*[k] Thus we are to consider the commandment given to Adam concerning the forbidden tree; not as if God spake to him concerning a tree, merely to preserve it inviolate; but herein he commanded him this one

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[i] Jerem. vii, 22, 23. [k] Gen, xvii. 1.

thing, namely, *obey my voice indeed*; to do whatever I shall declare to be the duties of thy life. Not that God required, that man should obey his voice merely for the sake of, and to lay a stress upon his own authority; but, because it was necessary for man, not to be left to his own guidance, but to be kept in the hand of God's counsel. Adam, when created, was not so made that directions absolutely right in themselves would occur from his own judgment of things, for the whole guidance of his life; and therefore God gave him a command not to eat of a particular tree, as he afterwards gave to Abraham the command of circumcision. As Abraham received the command of circumcision to be *the sign, a seal of the righteousness of faith*,[1] so Adam received the command of not eating of the forbidden tree to be a sign, an attestation, a standing and inviolate memorial, that he was not to follow his own inventions, but truly and faithfully to obey God.

If we consider the commandment, concerning the forbidden tree, in this light; the narration will be greatly cleared from those difficulties which are surmised to be in what Moses hath said. In every revelation which God hath made unto men, it is observable, that some positive institution or institutions are enjoined, for the receivers of such revelations truly to pay unto God, in obeying them, the obedience of faith, *i. e.* to believe and do whatever God is pleased to declare or demand of them. Thus we receive the two ordinances, which

[1] Rom. iv. 11.

Christ hath appointed us in the New Testament, baptism, and the communion of bread and wine. Thus the Jews were bound to observe the rites, and to make the sacrifices of the law by Moses; even as Abraham before received the command of circumcision.[m] And thus unto Adam was given the injunction not to eat of that particular tree, which was called the *tree of knowledge of good and evil.* Of which command we can no more say, that God did not literally enjoin our first parents not to eat of that tree, than we can say, that he did not literally enjoin Abraham the circumcision of the flesh; or the Israelites to offer the sacrifices which are directed in the law; or us Christians the washing of water in baptism, and the eating of bread and drinking of wine in remembrance of our Saviour, as they are enjoined by him. Upon the whole, the interpreting literally what Moses says of the prohibited tree, and afterwards of the tree of life, does not make the texts that speak of them ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως;[n] it sets up no singular or peculiar notion in religion, which has nothing like it in the other scriptures: but rather it is so truly κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως,[o] hath such an agreement with what is read of a like nature *from faith to faith,* in all the subsequent revelations which God hath been pleased to make unto men; that it approves itself in shewing that the way of God to lead man through the world hath been in this point none other than one and the same in principle, though diversified in circumstances, as the different ages might

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[m] Rom. iv. 11. [n] 2 Pet. i. 20. [o] Rom. xii. 6.

require, from the very beginning down to these last times, and is to continue the same until our state here be fulfilled.

The objectors to a literal interpretation of Moses' account of the two particular trees of the garden, do therefore vainly think that they have an insuperable difficulty in asking; how could there be in nature trees which could bear such fruits, as seem, by a literal interpretation of Moses, to be ascribed to the tree of knowledge, and the tree of life? For if any one should ask us concerning baptism, what sort of water can that be, which can give the washing of regeneration? or concerning the Lord's supper; what can we conceive of natural nourishment or juices in that bread and wine, from the eating and drinking of which we may be made partakers of the body and blood of Christ? Would any one, who thinks soberly upon the benefits ascribed to the doing these things, as God hath commanded them, find himself at a loss to answer in these matters? Or, would he apprehend that the things so commanded are a mere allegory; and that we are not enjoined literally to use real water, or to eat and drink real bread and real wine? Rather, how much more reasonably may we see and apprehend, that as we eat the bread and drink the wine, which God hath commanded in assurance of the faith, that if we obey God, it will be unto us according to his word, to give us eternal life, to raise us up at the last day;[p] even so might Adam, having done the will of God, when God should direct it,

[p] John vi. 54.

have literally put forth his hand, and taken of the tree of life, and eaten and have lived *for ever*.[q] And as we are to be washed with water as Christ hath required, and God will give us of his holy Spirit, both to think and to do, above what we otherwise would be able of our own sufficiency, presumptuously assuming to stand in our own strength without him; so if Adam, literally speaking, had not eaten of the forbidden tree, he would have continued in the hand of God's counsel, and not have corrupted himself and his way before God. Not that meat, or abstaining from any kind of meat, recommendeth unto God; not that the washing or not washing with water is in itself any thing; rather, we may, and Adam and Eve might have eaten, or not eaten, and therein have been neither the better nor the worse, had there not been the commandment of God. The tree prohibited, was, I apprehend, like other trees of the garden, *pleasant to the eyes*, and *good for food*; but the point to be considered, was, whether in observing the prohibition not to eat of this one tree, the man was not to keep himself in the hand of God's counsel, not to take upon himself to be his own independent director; but to have obeyed absolutely, wherein-soever God was pleased to give him special directions, to live according to *every word* which should proceed *from the mouth of God*.[r] If man had persevered herein, as God gave him one law for a relative duty,[s] he would, in like

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[q] Gen. iii. 22. [r] Deut. viii. 3. Matt. iv. 4.

[s] I have before observed, that God gave our first parents the law, that man and wife should not be twain, but one flesh, Mark x. 8. vide quæ sup.

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riment; and the event proved to the full what had been foretold.[u] In like manner, how easy is it to see, that God might know, that the active and busy faculty he had given our first parents, which we call reason, not given in a greater measure than he had endowed them with,[x] would never have been kept within its proper bounds, unless at first exercised under some such especial command as he thought fit to give them; and therefore gave such command, to be the standing inviolate memento of their lives, that *whether* they *ate*, or *whether* they *drank*, or *whatsoever* they did,[y] they should in nothing *turn aside from* what God commanded, *either to the right hand, or to the left.*[z]

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the situation of the garden of Eden.

THE writers who contend, that Moses only designed an instructive apologue, and not a real history, would represent, that his very description of the situation of

[u] See Exodus xxiii. 33. Judges ii. &c.

[x] Motum istum celerem cogitationis, acumen, solertiam, quam rationem vocamus. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 27.

[y] 1 Cor. x. 31. [z] Deut. v. 32.

sentiment of the whole period cited from Eusebius is different, if we understand Μωσεως φαντο· to mean, that Moses really wrote in allegory, and that Eusebius so thought of him; from what it would appear, taking those words as referring to Plato, and intending only that Plato so thought of Moses. The Greek sentence may, I think, admit the latter sense;[f] an English reader may be apt to catch the former: and Dr. Burnet hereupon endeavours, in a manner unworthy a scholar, to palm the former upon us. We may fully see the opinion of Eusebius concerning Plato's imitating Moses in the chapter following what is cited. Eusebius tells us, how Plato formed his fable of the Androgynes, from what Moses had related of God's making the woman out of the man.[g] Plato changed the fact related by Moses, and used a fiction, as he thought similar to it, and reputed it as warrantable; supposing that Moses herein, as well as himself, had written allegory. But Eusebius hereupon tells us expressly, that Plato did not understand Moses' intention,[h] and was ignorant of his way of speaking.[i] Here then we come to

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[f] The words of Eusebius, in our present copies of him, are, Μώσεως κατα τινας αποῤῥητους λογους ἐν τη ἀρχη της τοῦ Κοσμου συστασεως θεου τινα Παραδεισον γεγονεναι φαιλο, κ' αν (κ' ει) τυτω τον ἀνθρωπον ἠπατηθαι δια τῆς γυναικος προς τοῦ Ὀφεως ἄνλικρυς μοιουμενα ῥηματα μεταποιησο· ὁ Πλατων ἐπιακουσον δια ἐν Συμποσίω καὶ ἀυτος ἀλληγορῶν τεθεικεν. Euseb. lib. xii. c. 11.

[g] Euseb. lib. 12. c. 12.

[h] μη συνιῶς ὁ Πλατων ὁποια ἀρηται διανοια. Euseb. ibid.

[i] δηλο· μεν ἐστιν ὑκ ἀγνοησας τον λογον. Euseb. ibid.

Μώσεως κατὰ τινὰς ἀπορρητους λόγους— τίνα παραδοσιν γεγονεναι φαιδω.[c] From hence it is said that Eusebius represents Moses as having written of his paradise *mythologically*; whereas I apprehend, that whoever will duly examine Eusebius, will see, that he here hinted Plato's sentiment of Moses, but not his own. Eusebius represents Plato as an *allegorical* writer, and the passage cited from him has some defect,[d] or is obscurely worded; but it seems to me that he aimed to set himself ἀδικεῖν Μωσεῖ; in a point of view over against Moses; to appear such a writer as he (Plato) took Moses to have been before him. Accordingly, though Plato changed the facts related by Moses;[e] and did not narrate the very same which he read in Moses' writings, but adopted others; yet he thought he would write as elegantly of Porus and Penia, as he deemed Moses had written of Adam and Eve; reputing Moses, as well as himself, φαιδω κατὰ τινας ἀπορρητους λογους, writing not as a historian, but in the mythic style of allegory. The

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[c] Vide Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. xii. c. 11. Hunc hortum Dei apud Mosem eundem esse volunt nonnulli ac Διος κῆπον, Jovis hortum apud Platonem, et eandem esse utrobique historiam vel allegoriam κατα τινας ἀπορρητους λογους Μωσεως, secundum arcanos sensus Mosis inquit Eusebius. Burnet's Archæol. p. 87.

[d] I should suspect that Eusebius wrote Μωσεως ὡς κατα τινας ἀπορρητοῦς λογους——φαιδω. Mosis, quasi, secundum quosdam arcanos sensus loquentis. The meaning of the place would thus be clear, but perhaps the unskilful transcriber dropped the second ὡς, not seeing the meaning of it.

[e] τὰ ρηματα μιταποιησας ὁ Πλατων.

Eusebius' sentiment concerning both Plato and Moses: he plainly shews that he knew Moses had written fact, and history, but thought Plato mistook him, and supposed him an allegorist; and that in writing in that stile, he was an imitator of him. Accordingly, we ought so to construe what was before cited from Eusebius, as to make it agree with what he has thus plainly declared.

But to return from whence I have digressed; the writers who do not admit in a literal sense, what Moses relates of the garden of Eden; remark, that the ignorance of all ages concerning its true place and situation, must be deemed a co derable argument, that no such real place ever existed.[k] It is not likely, they say, but that some of Adam's early posterity must have found in the world some traces of the mansion of their first parents, if so remarkable a place of their abode had ever been; but if it be in fact true, that, choose we where we will, we can hear of no spot of ground so situate and bounded as Moses describes, why should we think his garden any other than a mere scene of fancy, which no real geography could ever mark out upon the face of the whole earth?[l] But these writers are in all this guilty of the most shameful carelessness. They first call for an inquiry, whether any of Adam's posterity could ever trace out any marks of the situation of the place where Adam first lived? and then overlook-

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[k] See Middleton's Essay upon the allegorical and literal interpretation.

[l] Middleton's Examination of the Lord Bishop of London's Discourses, p. 133.

ing, that ages after Adam, Moses gave his contemporaries a very particular designation of it, they run away to a modern disquisition, whether we can now find charts of the world, that may perfectly agree with the descriptions of Moses? But the best method we can take to clear the whole of this enquiry, will be to examine, 1. Whether we can reasonably admit, that any situation of places in the world before the flood, could possibly be found the same in the *postdiluvian* earth. 2. To examine whether Moses does, or does not, settle the boundaries of his garden, such as they were known to be after the flood. 3. Whether it appears, that the site of the garden, as Moses describes it, was known in the world before, in, and after, the time of Moses. 4. To determine what his description of it precisely is. 5. Whether there has not happened, since his time, such alterations in the countries bordering upon its situation, as may give us reason to think, that we cannot now ascertain the local spot described by him; yet, notwithstanding all the changes in the face of the earth, that we may still find the country in which Moses' garden of Eden may be reasonably concluded to have had its situation.

§ 1. Our first enquiry ought to be, whether any spot of ground in the first world could possibly be found again after the flood? Here we have to combat with two opinions: one, that the first world was made so very different from the *postdiluvian* earth, that it cannot be thought there was such a situation in it as Moses describes. The other, that if there had been originally such a primitive situation, the earth must have suffered such alteration by the flood, that, after that catastrophe,

no traces of what had been before could ever be found. For the former of these we may read Dr. Burnet's Theory; that there were no hills; no such rivers in the first world as now water the earth.[m] But we shall find this a mere fancy of his philosophy, into which he would not have fallen, had he kept to what he proposed should conduct his enquiries, namely, the light he might have had from the holy scriptures.[n] The sacred writers have ever accounted mountains and hills as coeval with the world. The writer of the book of Job was of this opinion; who speaks of the first man as made *before the hills*;[o] not meaning *before* them, in point of time; for the expression is, made *in the sight of the hills*;[p] that is, when as yet not men, but the hills only, were spectators of his coming into being. The expression intimates what the Psalmist also suggests, that the mountains were brought forth as soon as the earth was made; for to these he appeals as to the most ancient things, to argue from them, that He, who was before them, is God: *Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God.*[q] Agreeably hereto, Moses speaks of hills, which had not their rise from the deluge, but were more ancient; were the heights of the earth, over and above the loftiest of which *the waters* of the flood, he tells us, *pre-*

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[m] Theory, b. i. c. 5. [n] Adducamus in concilium naturam et rationem, præeunte semper, quà licet, sacrarum literarum lumine. Tell. Theor. Sac. lib. i. c. 5.

[o] Job xv. 6. [p] לפני גבעות. Ibid. [q] Psalm. xc. 2.

vailed fifteen cubits upwards; to cover all the high hills *then* under heaven.[r] But it was in Dr. Burnet's imagination, that a fluid mass, rolled round upon its axis, might gradually throw outward its earthy particles, and become incrusted over a huge body of waters, and growing more and more firm and compact, have its surface naturally formed in an even oval.[s] But how small a mote became here a beam in our author's eye; from his not considering the greatness of this work of God! He does not treat (though he is not willing to allow his conceptions to be so narrow,[t]) his *mundane* egg suitably to the real amplitude of the world.[u] Geometry shews, that the height of the highest mountains of the earth bears no greater proportion to a semidiameter of our globe, than as about 1 to 860.[w] Therefore, though to us many of the mountains are vast objects, as they take up great room in, or, if we approach them, more than fill the little orb of our sight; yet they are in truth no greater prominence on the face of the earth, than an excrescence of about the one hundred and forty-third part of an inch high, would be upon a ball a yard round. Our sight is not minute enough to reach so insensible an irregularity; and were it even large enough to take a comprehensive view of a whole hemisphere of the earth, it could not spy so little an object as the[x]

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[r] Gen. vii. 19. [s] Theory, vol. i. c. 4. [t] Id. c. 11.

[u] Theory, vol. i. c. 5. 'Tis the doctrine of the *mundane* egg. I do not know any symbolical doctrine so universally entertained by the Mystæ. Id. b. ii. c. 8.

[w] Varen. Geogr. sec. iii. c. ix. prop. vii.

[x] Varenius' proposition is, Montium altitudo ad semidiame-

hugest mountain. Had our author thus considered the bigness of the earth, cavities for the seas impressed upon the formed orb of it, to receive the gathering together of the waters, which were to run from among the hills, and the mountains and hills raised upon the face of the antediluvian globe, might have been deemed by him to be no more than what the ὁ θεος γεωμετρῶν, the divine workmaster, who gave every thing its due weight and measure, knew was proper to balance the parts of the earth one against another, to give a due libration to our globe.

But the other opinion is, that if the earth was indeed originally made such, as to have hills and rivers like what are mentioned by Moses; yet that such alterations of our globe must have happened from the universal deluge, that any of the same mountains and rivers which were before the flood, cannot be supposed to have remained, or be found after it. This sentiment is thought supportable either by considering, 1. What a fracture must have happened in the earth, to bring forth the abyss of waters produced by God's breaking up the fountains of the deep;[y] or, 2. The *strata* of the relics of a flood, which are said to lie every where deep in all parts of the present earth.

1. Moses tells us, that at the deluge *all the fountains of the great deep were broken up.*[z] Our ingenious

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trum telluris non habet sensibilem proportionem, sive adeò exiguam, ut rotunditati telluris non magis officiat, quàm punctum in globi artificialis superficie notatum.

[y] Gen. vii. 11. [z] Ibid.

theorist having observed what a quantity of water must otherwise have been created, to fill a sphere extended fifteen cubits every way higher than the summit of the highest hills,[a] represents the old world as having been arched over a vast abyss of waters enclosed around its centre, laid up here as in a store-house,[b] contained as in a bag[c] against the time when God called them forth to destroy the world that then was. God then, he says, broke up the fountains of this deep; caused that compass of the world set over it,[d] *i. e.* the earth[e] established upon these floods, to be broken down, and in huge fragments to fall into this vast cavern, whereby the waters forced out of it, were added to the rain of forty days, to drown the world. He adds in lively descriptions, that the face of the present earth, overspread with broken mountains, craggy precipices, ragged and mis-shapen rocks, looks apparently to be such a world of ruins; and shews us, that we live upon the remains of a thus fractured globe.[f] He concludes, that if we admit his hypothesis, or such a disruption of the earth, we cannot expect to find rivers now, as they were before; the general source is, he says, changed, and their channels are all broken up.[f] It is surprizing that this ingenious author did not reflect, that even his own hypothesis does not make it certain that the ruins he supposes occupied the face of the whole earth. Might not divers enormous fragments fall into the abyss represented by him, in many different parts of the world, and for

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[a] Theory of the Earth, vol. i. c. 2. [b] Ibid. 7. Psalm xxxiii. 7.
[c] Ibid. [d] cxxxvi. 6. [e] xxiv. 2.
[f] Theory, vol. i. b. ii. c. 7.

vast and extensive tracts of country together: and yet in other parts vast plains, and a well watered champaign, such as are found, and have been found in all ages in many countries, have remained not disfigured, as not having suffered, in these ruins? The disruption of the world was local, here and there in places, as the rocky precipices are found to be, which are scattered over, but do not every where cover, the whole face of the earth. And if Moses' Eden was in a tract of country, which did not break and fall in such disjointed fragments into the deep, its primitive situation might remain, and be well described by him in the *postdiluvian* world. In like manner,

2. If we examine what is offered by others concerning the several *strata* in the bowels of the earth, occasioned, as they represent, by a universal deluge; we shall find nothing in their speculations, to prove that Moses might not be able to describe the local situation of the garden of Eden, by such boundaries as might really exist in the *postdiluvian* earth.

Some writers speak of shells and *exuviæ* of fishes, of teeth and bones of some animals, often found buried under the surface; many times deep in the bowels of the present earth; and sometimes inclosed even within the mass of the most solid stones, or beds of minerals. They suppose that the earth at the universal deluge was so long soaked in the water which overflowed it, that the crustation or concretion of all its parts was absolutely loosened, and the whole orb liquidated into a universal *fluor*. In this, trees, animals, fishes, and all sorts of vegetables, not of a contexture, such as that water was a proper *menstruum* to dissolve, were variously tossed

about and carried, until, when God was pleased to quiet the floods, and the agitations of the waters became a dead calm, things began regularly to subside. They suppose the earth to concrete again, and the bodies rolling here and there in the turbid and thick waters, to sink and lodge deeper or nearer the surface of the accrescing earth, in proportion to their specific gravities. Then that the bed of earth, in which they became thus situated, hardening daily, suitably to the nature of its respective soil, some *strata* became in time a chalk; others vegetated or were concocted to stone; to ore of minerals in concretions of various sorts, such as might be formed according to the different nature of the parts of which they were compounded: that the undissolved bodies, which subsided, and rested where the surrounding matter answered their gravity and sustained them, became, as that hardened, inclosed in it; and are therefore, wherever the earth is ransacked down to the beds where they lie, found sometimes whole and entire, where no air has been introduced to loosen the contexture of their parts, or any *menstruum* has been generated, to corrode and dissolve them. And many times, where the shells or animals are dissolved and gone, such a print appears in the yielding and soft substance of the *strata* where they lay, as to exhibit even in what now are the hardest stones, impressions of various kinds, more perfect than the best *matrices* which the highest art of foundery could ever have made to cast their forms in. In this manner they suppose that the liquidated earth, being full of all that perished in it, has gradually become again a round lump, precipitated to the centre of the waters in which it was immerged. And they

say, that after this subsidence, God raised the earth again above the waters by breaking the round orb, and elevating some parts into hills, making deep channels for rivers and seas, and thereby draining great tracts to be dry land for a new habitable world. They assign this to be the reason, why in some mountains, and sides of hills, the relics are found lying in lines perpendicular, and not, as in other parts of the earth, in horizontal strata.[h] These mountains, they say, were raised up from their flat and recumbent situation, set as it were on edge, so as to have what originally was their horizontal surface now placed sloping or perpendicular to the horizon, and accordingly to have their whole contents in a like situation. In this manner we are apt to think ourselves able, speculatively, to destroy and make a world. But whether in fact these things were thus done, must be more than doubted by any one who attends to the history of Moses. If the earth within six generations of Adam was found to abound in such ore of metals, as could employ every artificer in brass and iron, of which we read Tubal-Cain was an early instructor;[i] we cannot conceive that the whole globe had been, at the flood, of so loose and dissoluble a contexture, that forty days' rain, and the waters which came from the great deep, should altogether melt it away. And if, as an ingenious friend observed to me, in a conversation upon this subject, the dove which Noah sent out the second time from the ark, came to him in the evening, and, *lo! in her mouth was an olive leaf pluckt*

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[h] See Woodward's Theory. [i] Gen. iv. 22.

off, so Noah knew that the waters were abated; some trees, at least, which were before the flood, stood their ground, and therefore their ground was not absolutely washed away from them. Their summits or tops of boughs appeared as the flood decreased, for the dove to alight on, and to bear away the spoils of them.

The world, such as it subsided during the increase of the flood, such it appeared again in the parts where the ark rested, rising by degrees out of the waters; the summits of trees upon the hills, from one of which Noah's dove plucked an olive leaf, emerged first; the tops of hills next became visible; the earth, and what was upon it, came gradually into sight, until the face of the ground was dry. The heathen poet seems to describe this great event more suitably to what the providence of God caused to be the fact, than our modern philosophers have done. Ovid tells us, that upon the abating of the flood,

> Flumina subsidunt, colles exire videntur,
> Surgit humus: crescunt loca decrescentibus undis:
> Postque diem—nudata cacumina silvæ
> Ostendunt, limumque tenent in fronde relictum,
> Redditus orbis erat ——— OVID. MET. lib. I.

The world was restored to the remnant of mankind; not a new world, created over again, upon a total dissolution of the former; but a globe, which, though the waters left every where sufficient marks of an inundation, was in no wise so entirely stripped of its trees, its herbs, and all its other garniture, that the sons of Noah could not know it to be the same, or could think it absolutely another earth.

We may well account for all the phænomena of which our naturalists are so full, without running the length of their imagination for a solution. If we consider the accounts and effects of many lesser inundations, which have happened in divers parts of the world, we may explain such effects as are mentioned by the poet:

Vidi ego, quæ quondam fuerat solidissima tellus
Esse fretum, vidi factas ex æquore terras:
Et procul à pelago conchæ jacuere marinæ,
Et vetus inventa est in montibus anchora summis:
Quodque fuit campus vallem decursus aquarum
Fecit, et eluvie mons est deductus in æquor.

OVID. MET. lib. 15.

Great tracts, which were formerly dry land, may be now in the sea; and much of what the waters formerly covered, is in many parts of the world become dry and habitable ground. The shells of sea-fish are often seen in parts very remote from any seas, and ancient anchors have been found upon the tops of mountains: a flow of waters has gullied plains into deep valleys; and hills have been washed down, and borne away into the ocean.

Our own country might afford many demonstrative facts of this nature. In the levels of Cambridgeshire, there are many reasons to think, that there was formerly a surface which now lies buried some yards deep under the present soil. The bottom of some rivers shew it;[h]

[h] See Dugdale's History of Embanking.

and in setting down a sluice, there has been found, sixteen feet deep, a smith's forge and the tools thereunto belonging, with several horse-shoes. At Whittlesey, in that county, in digging through the moor, at eight feet deep, they came, we are told, to a perfect soil of what is called *sword-ground*. Timber-trees of several kinds, it is said, lie deeply buried in other places; and in some parts, skeletons of fishes, whole and entire, lie many feet under ground in a silt. From all these appearances, our naturalists inform us, with great show of probability, that some ancient land-floods have brought down from the higher countries a prodigious wash of soil with their waters; that these waters, not finding a sufficient outlet to run off with a strong current, spread over the whole level the adventitious earth brought with them, which in time hardened and incrusted to a new surface over the old ground, covering whatever was overflowed upon the former lands, and containing the *exuviæ* of whatever fish or animals were choaked and buried in it. From these lesser effects of lesser causes, we may, I think, well trace the greater effects of greater. If an inundation of so small a country, as an inland level, heaped a soil over the face of it yards deep, why might not the universal deluge of the world, in places where the drain from them might let away the water, but retain the sediment, lodge vast and mountainous tracts of adventitious earth; in which might be buried all the layers of the *exuviæ*, which are the noted curiosities of their *strata*, and over which the earths they were buried in, were at first but wet mud, loose mould, gritty sand, loam or marl; little particles of stony substance; some of all aptitudes for all sorts of accretion,

say, that after this subsidence, God raised the earth again above the waters by breaking the round orb, and elevating some parts into hills, making deep channels for rivers and seas, and thereby draining great tracts to be dry land for a new habitable world. They assign this to be the reason, why in some mountains, and sides of hills, the relics are found lying in lines perpendicular, and not, as in other parts of the earth, in horizontal strata.[h] These mountains, they say, were raised up from their flat and recumbent situation, set as it were on edge, so as to have what originally was their horizontal surface now placed sloping or perpendicular to the horizon, and accordingly to have their whole contents in a like situation. In this manner we are apt to think ourselves able, speculatively, to destroy and make a world. But whether in fact these things were thus done, must be more than doubted by any one who attends to the history of Moses. If the earth within six generations of Adam was found to abound in such ore of metals, as could employ every artificer in brass and iron, of which we read, Tubal-Cain was an early instructor;[i] we cannot conceive that the whole globe had been, at the flood, of so loose and dissoluble a contexture, that forty days' rain, and the waters which came from the great deep, should altogether melt it away. And if, as an ingenious friend observed to me, in a conversation upon this subject, the dove which Noah sent out the second time from the ark, came to him in the evening, and, *lo! in her mouth was an olive leaf pluckt*

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[h] See Woodward's Theory. [i] Gen. iv. 22.

forming from the origin of things; but no such *exuviæ* in these, as are found in like beds in the other places. And where the *exuviæ* are found lying perpendicularly or aslope, and not in horizontal lines, I suspect that earthquakes, since the deluge, may have variously broken up these places from their deepest foundations; subverted the old, and made a new position of huge fragments of them.

If in thus examining all that has been suggested, we can, after all, find such a situation in the present world, as Moses describes, which hath all appearance of being the tract where he marked out the boundaries of this land of Eden, and its garden; I conceive, that if those parts were dug up, and explored, such *exuviæ* of the flood would be found in them, as to induce us to think, that such a spot of ground, as described by Moses, has existed both upon the antediluvian and postdiluvian earth. But let us consider,

II. Whether the description of Moses does not plainly tell us what were the marks or bounds of his garden of Eden in the first world; and also as plainly, that these boundaries remained, but had new names, and were well known in the second. A river, he tells us, went out of Eden to water the garden, and it was a river of four heads:[1] this was the run and streams of the river of Eden, when the garden was first planted, and the man put into it. The words of Moses must have this, and can have no other intention. But Moses does not rest his description here; he proceeds to tell us what

[1] Gen. ii. 20.

these rivers were called, and what countries they washed upon in after ages. He calls the first of the rivers Pison, the second Gihon, the third Hiddekel, and the fourth Euphrates.[m] He tells us of the first river, that it compasseth the whole land of Havilah,[n] a country noted for its gold and precious stones;[o] of the second, that it compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia, or Cush;[p] of the third, that it runs East into Assyria;[q] of the fourth, that it is the Euphrates.[r] These names of the rivers here mentioned by Moses, three of them at least, are not, that I know of, mentioned any where by profane geographers; but the most ancient of these are mere moderns, comparatively speaking, with regard to the ancient scripture geography.[s] The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus mentions both Pison and Gihon;[t] and hints, that both were rivers, which at particular seasons of the year abounded in their flow of waters,[u] and as not unworthy of being named with the Tigris and Euphrates;[x] therefore we may think that in his day

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[m] Gen. ii. 11—14. Moses having told us that the garden was watered by a river from four heads; proceeds here to make, as it were, a new terrar of it, by giving it streams, and the countries they washed upon, those names by which they were called after the flood, &c.

[n] Gen. ii. 11. [o] Ibid.

[p] The word we translate *Ethiopia*, is *Cush* in the Hebrew, Gen. ii. 13. See Connect. Sac. et Proph. Hist. b. iii.

[q] Gen. ii. 14. [r] Ibid.

[s] Vide quæ post. [t] Ecclus. xxiv. 25—27.

[u] Ibid. [x] Ibid.

they were noted, and in no wise inconsiderable streams. The Pison, Moses tells us, encompassed the whole land of Havilah;[y] a country well known by this name from after Abraham's day;[z] and in the times of Saul;[a] although not thus called in the antediluvian world; for it must have been thus denominated from its having been planted after the flood, by Havilah, one of the sons of Joktan;[b] or perhaps originally by Havilah, a son of Cush.[c] We can find no more of Gihon, than that it compassed the whole land of Ethiopia, or land of Cush.[d] The country called the land of Cush, was what the sons of Cush first planted,[e] most probably Babylonia;[f] undoubtedly not called the land of Cush, until after the flood, when Cush, the son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, had been an inhabitant of it. The river Hiddekel was known to Daniel; it was a great river in his days, and one of the visions he saw, was made to him in the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia, upon its banks.[g] The fourth river of Moses' Eden was the *Perath*, or Euphrates,[h] a river so known as to want only to be named, to be sufficiently distinguished from all others. It was called, by way of eminence, *The Great River*, in Abraham's days;[i] and so in like manner by Moses at the exit out of Egypt.[k] It is well known throughout

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[y] Gen. ii. ubi sup.
[z] Gen. xxv. 18.
[a] 1 Sam. xv. 7.
[b] Gen. x. 29.
[c] Ver. 7. See Connect. b. iii.
[d] Gen. ii. ubi sup.
[e] Gen. x. 7. See Connect. vol. i. b. iii.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Dan. x. 4.
[h] Gen. ii. 14.
[i] Gen. xv. 18.
[k] Deut. i. 7.

the scriptures by the same name;[1] and the heathen geographers are all very full in their accounts of it.[2] In this manner, therefore, Moses describes the situation of the garden of Eden, not as if he had thought the flood had washed it away, so that the place of it could no where be found; but he remarks what names the rivers of it had from after the times of the sons of Noah, what countries they bounded; and he so remarkably observes, that it had been situate in the neighbourhood of the most known river in the world, the river Euphrates: that it must be evident, he had no thought of placing it in some obscure corner, which surely he would have done, if he had intended a mere fiction. And I apprehend, considering him as describing a real place, that he would have added more, if he had thought what he wrote was not clear enough to leave no doubts, at the time he wrote, concerning the situation which he described.

III. The site of the garden of Eden, as Moses describes it, seems to have been well known in the world both before, and in, and after Moses' time. The scriptures are generally concise; every part is confined to the matter it treats of; therefore the garden of Eden being situate beyond the Euphrates, and near the river upon whose banks Daniel was, in his captivity at Babylon. But the history of the bible, from after Abra

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[1] The reader may find it thus named in all parts of the Old Testament.

[2] Vide Strab. Geogr. lib. 11. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 5. c. 24 lib. 6. c. 9, &c.

pressly of the one; and respecting the garden of the Lord, in the country of the other, they agree, without any further mention than its name, as being a place familiarly known to them both.[t] The comparison be-

[t] It may seem to us a great retrospect, for Abraham to look back for Adam's first habitation. But let us consider the length of men's lives from Adam to Abraham: Adam lived to see Lamech fifty-six years old. See the table of antediluvian lives, according to the Hebrew chronology. Connect. vol. i. b. i. Lamech appears to have been a person who had much considered the state of his forefathers, and the labours they had from the ground, in God's having cursed it. He therefore knew what had been the error of Adam's life; and was enabled to assure his contemporaries, upon the birth of his son Noah, that this child would obtain for them a relief of their difficulties. See Gen. v. 29.—Lamech lived to within five years of the flood. See the table above cited. Shem, the son of Noah, was one hundred years old, two years after the flood, see Gen. xi. 10; and therefore was born ninety-seven years before the beginning of the flood, and ninety-two years before the death of his grandfather Lamech. Shem lived five hundred and two years after the flood, See Gen. xi. 10. *i.e.* the flood happening A. M. 1656. See Connect. vol. i. b. j. Shem lived to A. M. 2158. Abraham was born A. M. 2008; see Connect. vol. i. b. v.; so that Shem lived to see Abraham one hundred and fifty years old. Abraham therefore might converse many years with Shem, Shem with Lamech, and Lamech with Adam; and though a knowledge of where Adam first lived may seem to have travelled into a vast tract of time, to come down to Abraham, yet we may observe the links of the chain of tradition of it were so few, that we may think it

tween the plains of Jordan and the spot of ground watered by these rivers, said by Moses to be the rivers of Eden, was so just, that the writer of the book of Ecclesiasticus, afterwards, allowed it to be a true one. The waters of Tigris, and Pison, and Geon, and Euphrates, are by him, as Abraham and Lot had long before agreed, very properly compared with the waters of Jordan.[u]

But it may be doubted, whether by the garden of the Lord, mentioned by Lot to Abraham, was meant the garden of Eden, as described by Moses. Let us consider how far these places retaining this very name in the countries where it was situate, down to the captivity, may be of weight to clear this matter. Ezekiel, in his prophecy against Tyre, whose merchants traded to all parts of the earth, observes, that they had been at the *garden of God.*[x] Where now was the place so called? In what land? He plainly tells us, it was in Eden.[y] I would observe what the merchandise was, which the Tyrians brought thence; it was, saith the prophet, many precious stones, and amongst them the onyx-stone, and gold;[z] the very commodities which Moses tells us was the produce of this country.[a] Shall we doubt where the prophet supposed the situation of

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really not more remote from his having a full account of it, than it may be to us to know the habitation of our father's grandfather.

[u] Ecclus. xxiv. ubi sup.

[x] Ezek. xxviii. 13.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Gen. ii. 11, 12.

this country of Eden, and this garden of God, was? We may see he placed it near Babylon, and amongst the domains of the Assyrian empire. Eden seems to have been beyond Haran and Canneh, near to Shebah and Ashur;[b] all which well agrees with Daniel's being upon the banks of the river Hiddekel, one of Moses' rivers of Eden, when he was among the children of the captivity at Babylon.[c] These are very plain hints; and if any one will say they do not amount to demonstration, I shall not contend with him; yet, at the same time, I think I may venture to propose a serious consideration, whether they do not concur, and induce us to admit, that the garden of God in Eden, was a place, well known by that name to Abraham and Lot, and many ages after by the Jews in the days of their captivity, known to be situate not very far from the waters of Babylon, and in a situation very well agreeing with Moses' description. This seems more reasonable than all the trifling suggestions, which can be offered to make us think otherwise.

IV. Let us consider, what Moses' description of the land and garden of Eden precisely is: and if we attend carefully to his narration, we shall find that it plainly gives us the following particulars: 1. that a river went out of Eden and watered the garden.[d] Eden, then, was the country higher up the stream than the garden; for the river ran down from Eden to the garden. 2. And *from thence it was parted*;[e] after the river had run

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[b] Ezek. xxvii. 23.
[c] Dan. ubi sup. See chap. iii. and v.
[d] Gen. ii. 10.
[e] Ibid.

past, *i. e.* at or below the farther end of the garden, it was parted; the meaning of the words is sufficiently clear; the river, after it came out of the land of Eden, was one single or undivided stream to and all along the garden; but when it had passed the garden, then it divided, and branched into more streams. But, 3, what next follows seems more confused: it *became into four heads.*[f] Heads of rivers are the springs or origin from whence they have their waters; so that to say of rivers, that the current of their stream proceeds, and becomes into four heads, or comes to four heads, seems to be an inversion of nature, a kind of describing them as running upwards to their fountains; when, on the contrary, all streams must run down from, and not to or into, their heads. The Hebrew particle used by Moses, and which we translate *into*, is indeed *le*,[g] which generally signifies *to*, or *unto*; but the translators ought to have observed, that it sometimes also signifies *from*, and so it ought to have been rendered in this place. In the book of Chronicles we read, when Solomon was made king, *he, and all the congregation with him, went* [לבמה] *to the high place that was at Gibeon; for there was the tabernacle of the congregation of God, which Moses, the servant of the Lord, had made in the wilderness.*[h] Here the particle *le* is prefixed to *bamah*, and signifies *to* or *unto* the high place. But in the 13th verse we are told, then Solomon came [לבמה] (the same prefix and word is again used;) our English version says, *from* his journey to the high place, that was at Gibeon, to Jeru-

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[f] Gen. ii. 10. [g] לארבעה Heb. text. [h] 2 Chron. i. 3.

salem; but the Hebrew text has no words for *from his journey*. The vulgar Latin, therefore, renders the passage more truly, venit ergo Salomon ab excelso Gabeon in Jerusalem: the Septuagint say, Και ἦλθε Σαλωμων εκ βαμα της εν Γαβαων εις Ιερουσαλημ. The fact was, Solomon had been at the high place at Gibeon, and was now returning back again to Jerusalem, which the Hebrew text expresses by, *then Solomon* came, *labbamah*, *from* the high place, that was at Gibeon, to Jerusalem. Here the particle *le*, prefixed to *bamah*, signifies *from*; though it is as plain, that in the 3d verse, prefixed in like manner to the same word, it signifies *to* or *unto*; *i. e.* this particle in the Hebrew tongue may have either of these significations; and the necessary sense of the place must guide us when to give it the one, and when the other: and under this direction in the text of Moses, which we are considering, it must signify *from*, and not *into*. The words of Moses are, *vehayah le arbanah rashim*,[1] which should be rendered, *and it was from four heads*. This, then, is the express account which Moses gives of the river of Eden. It came from Eden to water the garden; from thence it parted; from Eden, downwards to the garden, it was but one stream; beyond the garden it parted, and branched into more streams. Moses does not say how many these were, nor what the courses in which they ran; but he returns to give an account of the one stream which ran down to the garden, which he tells us was made by the confluence of four rivers,

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[1] והיה לארבעה ראשים
capitibus e quatuor et fuit

afterwards named by him, Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates.[k]

V. We are to consider, whether such alterations in the face of the country and rivers of Moses' Eden may not have happened since his time, as to render it impossible to trace every mark of the garden or land of Eden, as he described it. Let us enquire, nevertheless, how far we can find sufficient marks of its situation.

It was evidently near to or upon the Euphrates,[l] upon the Hiddekel,[m] a river not far from ancient Babylon.[n] It was in the country where the mighty empires of Assyria had their seat, their height of grandeur, and their ruin. Now, when we think of the amazing works performed by the ruling powers in these countries, in their alterations of the course of rivers; building and removing even great cities; all which are since become no better than a vast tract of stupendous ruins; we see it must be impossible to find in these parts any face of things, to such a minute degree as Moses described, ages before, what has been their glory in all the various

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[k] We may here observe, that Dr. Burnet most egregiously mistook Moses' expression. He asks, insulting, Dic ubi in terris——quatuor fluvii nascuntur ab uno fonte? Archæol. p. 287, 288. In his English works; "Where are there four rivers in our continent, that come from one head?" Theory of the Earth, vol. i. b. ii. c. 7. He would insinuate that Moses had been guilty of an absurdity; but he did not understand Moses; the absurdity is his own.

[l] Gen. ii. ubi sup. [m] Ibid. [n] Dan. x. ubi sup.

works of art, and labours of empire which adorned them, and which are now their desolation.

The two great rivers in these countries are the Tigris and the Euphrates; which have been always noted by all geographers, who have written about these parts of the world. The Euphrates was, without doubt, the Perath of Moses; and we may well allow that the Tigris was his Hiddekel, considering that it is called by Daniel the great river.[o] This was the eminent title of the Euphrates,[p] and it is not likely it should be given to any lesser stream, which could not be compared with it. But can we offer a similar conjecture, to find out what river was the Gihon or the Pison of Moses? I confess I think not. The memorial of both these rivers seems to have been distinctly kept up, to the time of the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, who, according to Dean Prideaux, wrote in Hebrew about 250 years before Christ,[q] what his grandson, above a century later, turned into Greek. This writer appears to refer to all the four rivers mentioned by Moses as well known in his time, and known to have their extraordinary flow, annually, like the river Jordan; but those

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[o] Daniel x. ubi sup. [p] Gen. xv. ubi sup.

[q] Prideaux Connect. part ii. b. v. Anno ante Christum 132. At this time the learned dean says it was translated into Greek. It was, he says, originally written in Hebrew by the author of it, about the time when Onias, the second of that name, was high priest at Jerusalem, which was about anno ante Christum 250. See his Connect. part ii. b. ii.

[r] Ecclus. xxiv. 25—27.

geographical writers we have now extant, are but modern in comparison of the age even of this author; none of them being so old by above two hundred years, and some, who are often cited as old writers, falling short of him by many centuries. A vast change began to be made in the face of this country, before the writing of the book of Ecclesiasticus, when Seleucus built Seleucia on the Tigris, which proved the desolation of old Babylon.[1] What the rivers of this country were before the province where Babylon had stood began to become a heap of deserted ruins, might be recollected when the writer of Ecclesiasticus mentioned them; but be lost, in much confusion, before the earliest writers of geography after his time, whose works are now extant, made their enquiries into the state of the world. For I think Strabo's is the most ancient work, at least of any figure, we have of the kind, and it was not composed before the times of Tiberius. If Dionysius Periegetes lived about the same age, Pliny and Ptolomy were much later, and the Nubian geography is still more modern. And we may observe, that from whatever more ancient writers, Strabo, or any who followed him, had to collect, even these had difficulties about the waters of Babylon. They had no clear accounts what were the original ancient rivers which might here concur; or what were the artificial lakes, streams, and canals, cut from and into the Euphrates, for the ornament or convenience of that superb, and, beyond com-

[1] See Prideaux Connect. part i. b. viii.

parison, great and populous city.[t] In the confusion arising from hence, and in length of time growing inexplicable, we may reasonably allow that all knowledge of the true channels of these rivers, Pison and Gihon, has been lost; and we should greatly trifle, were we now to pretend, through curiosity, to find them. The material point is, whether we have not enough left, indisputably certain, to convince us that Moses' description is not such a romance as our modern allegorists suppose.

The garden of Eden bordered upon a river made up of a confluence of four streams, one of which was the Euphrates, the other Hiddekel.[u] The question is, Is there a place in the world where these two rivers and other streams join? I answer, there is; *viz.* at the south-east extent of the province of the now *Irak Arabi* of the Turkish empire, which was the ancient Chaldæa; at the place where the Turks now have a fortification, called Korna; at which place, the Hiddekel, or Tigris and Euphrates, with some other lesser streams, fall in and make one river. Let us enquire further, do these rivers, thus joined, continue to run in one stream, as

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[t] Qualis facies Euphratis fuerit, priusquam manu factis fossis et alveis distraheretur, difficile est delineare; nam et illæ fossæ antiquiores pleræque sunt, quam Græci, a quibus et naturæ rerum, aut ab hominibus gestarum memoriam habemus, ad scribendum et historias componendas, aut res naturæ tradendas se composuerunt. Cellarii Geogr. lib. 3. c. 16.

Strabo makes many complaints of the incorrectness of the Greek geographers in many parts of his work.

[u] Gen. ii. ubi sup.

Moses mentions that his river of Eden ran down from Eden to the garden of God? I answer, they run in one undivided channel down to Bassora; from whence they are parted, and run in streams, navigable even by large ships, in different channels into the Persian gulf. An inspection of the map, which I have here inserted, will exhibit what I offer in the clearest view.

Whether these rivers were so large in Moses' time as they are now, I do not pretend to say; though it is obvious, that Hiddekel was a great river in Daniel's days,[x] and the Euphrates[y] was reputed eminently so in the times of Abraham. It was the taste in the days of Moses to think a ground well watered, which lay, as the land of Egypt did, upon the confines of some great and overflowing river; so that a man might *water it with* his *fool*,[z] might trace out furrows, or channels, which might be filled with the flow of it, and convey water to the plants wherever he might design lines for its conveyance. But, leaving the reader to consider and determine, as he thinks fit, whether, in the first world, there were any snows covering, in their season, the hills or mountains whence these rivers take their rise; and, if there were not, whether their flow might not be less, and their channels not so wide and deep in Adam's days, as they became afterwards, when greater currents made their way through them; I might remark, that this augmentation of their waters

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[x] Daniel, ubi sup. [y] Gen. ubi sup.

[z] Deut. xvi. 10.—Thus Ezekiel hints, a vine so planted in a good soil by great waters, that it might be watered by the furrows of her plantation. Ezek. xvii. 7.

may, in the hand of Providence, have been one mean of keeping their channels open and known even until now, and likely to continue so to the end of the world.

The course of the Euphrates may be traced in all noted writers of geography; and is plainly to be seen, in all the tracts of country through which it passes, that in no point, but that one which I have mentioned, can it be found to form a confluence with other rivers, to make one stream, as Moses describes; and to part again, before it runs into the sea. And if, as I measure it from Korna to Bassora, be not above sixty miles, our enquiry after the earthly paradise is brought within a narrow compass; and however inconsiderately some may be disposed to ridicule the enquiry, we may reasonably conclude, that we cannot be far from the spot which was the garden of Eden, any where in the confines of the flow of this river, between Korna and Bassora.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the temptation of Eve by the Serpent; and her and Adam's eating of the forbidden tree.

WE left Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden; the day after their creation was a Sabbath, to be employed in considering the bounty and goodness of their Creator; what expectations he had given them; what duties were enjoined them, and how they might perform them,

Now, when this day was over, and they began to employ themselves in what God had appointed them to do, namely, *to dress the garden and to keep it*: it is very natural to think that they went out to their work desirous to see and consider the creation of God, and fully purposing to revere and obey him, in every thing he had said, or should farther speak to them. Dr. Burnet supposes, that the temptation befel them instantly on the very day of their creation;[a] but it is observable, that, although the narration of Moses is very concise,

Semper ad eventum festinat———HOR.

although he has related to us only a few events, upon which all the whole affairs of the first world turned; and relates them in their order as they were done, omitting all that was intermediate between the particulars recorded by him; yet the intervals of time between the facts recorded, must have been filled up in a manner reasonably agreeing to the nature of the things related, and the character of the persons concerned in them.

Both a just writer, and a judicious reader, will know

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique———HOR.

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[a] Isthoc die creavit omnia pecora, omnes feras, et omnia reptilia—denique creavit Adamum,—finitâ hac operâ fabrifecit fœminam; eodem die conjugium ineunt mas et fœmina recens nati:—eodem die nova nupta, nescio quo proposito, vagata inter arbores nemoris, incidit in serpentem: ille serpens colloquium instituit cum fœminâ: argumenta jactant hâc illûc de quâdam arbore aut quodam fructu, edendo, vel non edendo: illa tandem rationibus aut lenociniis victa fructum comedit;

how to say, and, where it is not necessary to be expressed, how to think what is suitable to every character. But it is hard to think that God should permit a temptation, of so great consequence, to break forth upon our first parents, before they had had time to form any sort of thoughts of things about them. And we give Adam and Eve no character at all, if we suppose, that, whilst the voice of God, strictly charging them not to eat of the tree, had scarce ceased speaking to them, they would eat, because they heard a serpent say they might safely do it. If Moses had expressly told us, that they thus instantly fell into the sin which caused their ruin, he had, I think, laid before us a great rock of offence against his narration. For to suppose, that as soon as God gave the prohibition, Adam and Eve would immediately transgress it; implies not only a total want of all consideration in our first parents, but something incredibly prone not to regard Him, who had shewed himself to be the only proper person to be regarded. But Dr. Burnet takes up the sentiment only that he may tragically complain of Moses' narration:[b]

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neque id tantum, seo eundem defert marito, qui pariter comedit. Archæol. p. 295.

[b] Intra unius diei spatiolum hæc omnia confecta legimus: magna et multifaria negotia. Sed ardeo dolore, cum tantillo tempore omnia inversa et perturbata video, totamque rerum naturam vix dum compositam et adornatam ante primi solis occasum, ad interitum ruere et deformari. Mane diei Deus dixit, omnia esse bona: sub vespere omnia sunt execrabilia. Quam fluxa est rerum creatarum gloria! Opus elaboratum per sex dies, idque omnipotenti manu, infamis bestia totidem horis perdidit. Achæol. p. 295.

had not this bias possessed him, he would have seen, that, notwithstanding any thing said by Moses, many days might intervene between Adam and Eve's creation, and their breaking the commandment of God.

Our English poet took a view of the subject in a better temper and disposition; and accordingly, though what he supposes is a mere fiction of his own, not at all warranted by Moses, or suggested by any inspired writer; nor do I think it true, in fact; yet I would observe, it seemed natural to suppose that the angel Gabriel had spent half a day with Adam and Eve, after the night in which he represents Eve as having had a troublesome dream,[c] and that the temptation happened the day after the angel left them.[d] He tells us, that on the day when the angel visited them, they had in the morning said,

> Their orisons each morning duly paid
> In various style.[e]———

Which implies, that he conceived they had had divers mornings, in which they had diversified their devotions. I cannot tell how any one who will think reasonably upon the subject, can be satisfied with the shocking view of it which Dr. Burnet sets before us. But, as I before hinted, what misled him is obvious, namely, his disposition to represent Moses intimating, in his narration, that the works of God's infinite wisdom, displayed for six days together, by creating and forming a wonder-

[c] See Milton's Paradise Lost, b. v. &c. [d] Ibid. b. ix.
[e] Paradise Lost, b. v. ver. 145.

ful system in the fabric of a world, were all ruined and undone by a low reptile, a serpent, in as few hours.[f] The reflection is so offensive, that if some strange perversion has not seized our hearts, we must hesitate and consider, whether what is thus said was indeed thus done: and hence we shall be easily led to remark, that the ruin which happened was not so absurdly precipitate as our author represents it.

Our first parents went out daily to take care of their garden, and made their observations of the things which occured to them. They named the living creatures as they found opportunity to see and consider them. And upon the serpent's coming in their way, and being observed by them, he, in a human voice, spake unto Eve.[g] They were not now such novices, as not to have remarked, that no other creature could thus speak, which occasioned them to think, what is recorded, that *the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord had made.*[h] Had the serpent's speaking to them happened early in the beginning of their life, before they had made observations of the other creatures, they would have had no notion of the serpent's being herein superior to other animals; for they might have expected, that all other animals could speak to them in like manner. Therefore it may reasonably be inferred, that many days had passed between their creation and the serpent's thus speaking to them; as many, as we can judge, must have intervened, before they could know in general concerning the living crea-

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[f] Burnet, sup. citat. [g] Gen. iii. 1. [h] Ibid.

tures, that none of them, except the serpent, had any power to speak. But we ought to remark, that they were not yet masters of so much science, as to know, that thus to speak could not be within the natural powers of a brute creature, for it gave them neither fear nor amazement. Had they apprehended that the serpent's speaking had been an incident miraculous and unnatural, they would, as Moses did, when he saw the bush burning with fire, and not consumed,[i] have turned aside to see this great sight; and would have been greatly confounded at what could be the meaning of so unnatural a prodigy. But, as Moses represents, they heard what was said to them, as undisturbed and unmoved as they would have been by any other new, but ordinary incident, which could have come under their observation. Therefore, agreeably to this, we ought to fix the time of Eve's being tempted, as not happening until she and Adam had observed in general concerning the animal creation, that none of them had the gift of speech; and they could not have observed this of the several species of creatures in the world in a very few days. It happened before they knew it to be a miraculous thing for an animal to speak; and therefore it unquestionably did happen early in their lives.[k]

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[i] Exod. iii. 3.

[k] Syncellus cites some minutes of the Book of Genesis, which supposes seven years to have passed, before the transgression. The passage cited by Syncellus is in these words, under the title of 'Εκ τῶν Λίπλων Γενισίως· Τω ἱδδομω ἴτει παριδη (Αδὰμ·) καὶ τω ὀγδοω ἐξιρριφησαν τω παραδείσου, ὥς φησι, μετὰ τισσαράκοῖλα πεινὶ ἡμιρας τῆς παραδάσιως, ἰν τῇ ἐπιτολῃ τῶν Πλειάδων. Syncellus, p. 8.—What may be the

Moses calls the serpent נחש [nachash;][l] it is the general word for a *serpent* used throughout the Old Testament, and was, perhaps, the original name which Adam gave this animal, if we make allowance for some variation in pronouncing the word, after words became of more syllables than one.[m] The word signifies an *augur*, *diviner*, or *foreteller* of things to come.[n] It appears that Adam's manner, in naming things, was to consider some particular property in them, and from that to name them. Thus knowing that Eve had been made out of him, himself being *aish*,[o] *man*, he called

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authority of the antiquity of this fragment, or whether it was originally written in a language more ancient than its present Greek, I cannot say; but by its mentioning the Pleiades, I should think it is not, in any language, as old as the time of Moses. For however early asterisms, or a combined plurality of stars, were formed, as they certainly were, very early, because such are mentioned in the Book of Job; yet as Moses hints nothing like them in his books, I think we must look for this astronomy in times later than his days. This citation then gives no authority to warrant our saying that seven years passed before Adam's transgression; though, in the reason of things, we will allow, that a competent time must have passed, before our first parents could know enough to excite in their hearts even a conceit of desiring to be wise, or a notion of becoming so, without, or in opposition to, their Maker.

[l] נחש. Gen. iii. 1. [m] See Connect. vol. i. b. ii.

[n] The verb נחש, from which the word denoting *the serpent* is derived, signifies, where it is used in the Old Testament, Auguratus est, augurium fecit, divinavit, ominatus est: certas conjecturas habuit. [o] Gen. ii. 23. See Connect. vol. ii. b. ix.

her *aishah*,[p] which we render *woman*. And thus he afterwards gave her another name, and called her *Chaiah*, or *Chevah*, *Eve*; as soon as he was told she was to bear children, and be *the mother of all* (chai) *living*;[q] of all their descendants, who were to derive life from them. So here the serpent speaking, and foretelling that they should have their *eyes opened, and be as gods*;[r] Adam called him the diviner or foreteller of what was to come, [*nachash*]. If this may be admitted, it will further hint that Adam had lived some time before the temptation; for in the first moments of life, before he had had any kind of practice both of eyes and understanding, to consider the difference between seeing and knowing immediate objects, and considering and pronouncing things, which should afterwards come to pass, he could not in any wise give the serpent a name implying such a determinate sentiment concerning him.

Milton represents Eve as being alone, without Adam present, when the serpent spake to her; but we ought to observe, that Moses does not say this; nor is there any thing any where hinted by the sacred writers, to induce us to admit it. Milton's design was to make

Ex noto fictum carmen.[s] HOR.

He took the fact, as Moses related it, for the ground of his poem; but ornamented it in his own way, by a variety of episodes, such as he thought might naturally

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[p] Gen. ii. 23.
[q] Gen. iii. 20.
[r] Gen. iii. 5.
[s] Paradise Lost, b. ix.

coincide with what Moses had related; and thus both to edify and entertain his reader. And he has no where, in his performance, worked up a scene more natural, than by representing the vanity of Eve desiring to work apart by herself; the manner of the temptation, and success of it; her address to Adam after she had eaten the forbidden fruit; his foreseeing, better than she had done, the ruin into which she was fallen; the fond, but rash resolution he took, rather to perish with her than live without her; the turbulent scenes of passion and disgust, of mutual accusation and resentment which soon arose, when both were become guilty; elegantly expressing, how certain it is that the being partakers in sin will not satisfy but disturb the soul. But however elegantly Milton may have represented these things; if we truly judge of the subject, as Moses relates it, we must plainly perceive that all this is Milton's imagination, and not the history of Moses. Moses does not hint that Eve had to go any distance from the place where she had eaten, to carry the fruit of the tree to her husband: but *she took of the fruit of the tree and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat.*[t] The point here treated proceeds without any discontinuance: her husband was with her at the time; she ate and reached to him, he partook of what she had taken,[u] and ate also. The serpent indeed

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[t] Gen. iii. 6.

[u] If she had carried fruit to her husband, he not being upon the spot, to eat at the same time with her, this would have required other words, than those used by Moses, to express it.

spake only to Eve, and she only replied to him: she admitted his temptation, and added a sentiment of her own to strengthen it. The serpent told her she would become wise in eating; she had no fear of being over-wise, though the danger threatened was, that she would thereby destroy herself. She perceived that the tree was *good for food*, that it was *pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise*; but did not consider nor know that there could be *no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against God:* and Adam, we read, *hearkened unto the voice of his wife.*[x] Thus far we may say, in the words of the apostle,[y] Adam was not deceived; not meaning, as the poet intimates, that Adam had such superior sense and judgment beyond Eve, as absolutely to reject the temptation; if, after she had eaten and was thereby ruined, he had not rather chosen to die with, than to live without her;[z] (for this is entirely Milton's fiction;) but *the woman being deceived, was in the transgression: the serpent through his subtlety deceived Eve.*[a] The words spoken by the serpent were all the subtlety they knew of him; these caught Eve's imagination first; *Adam was first formed, then Eve,*[b] but *Adam was not deceived*; the apostle means Adam was not deceived first. Here Eve unhappily took the pre-eminence, and, by adding to what the serpent had said, led her husband also to be deceived. This I take to be the true meaning of what

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[x] Gen. iii. 6—17.
[y] 1 Tim. ii. 14.
[z] Par. Lost, b. ix. v. 896, &c.
[a] 1 Tim. ii. 14. 2 Cor. xi. 3.
[b] 1 Tim. ubi sup.

the scriptures declare upon the subject. But it will be said, there are much greater points than what I have mentioned, which ought here to be well explained; as,

I. How is it possible that a serpent should speak, as Moses supposed? I answer; we can form so clear a judgment of the natural capacity and ability of the brute creation, that I may be allowed to say, 1. That the serpent could not, of himself, speak the words, which, according to Moses, came from him. But, 2. the tongue of the serpent might be so vibrated, or moved, by some superior, invisible agent, as to utter the sounds, or words, which Moses tells us Eve heard. This, I think, must readily be allowed by any one who considers how the tongue of Balaam's ass was moved, *speaking in man's voice, to forbid the madness of that prophet.*[c] But, 3. I would add here, what I have considered more at large upon that case;[d] that we cannot reasonably suppose that the serpent here speaking to Eve, any more than the ass there speaking to Balaam, understood the meaning of one word which it spoke. Both their tongues were moved otherwise, than of themselves they would have moved them; they were so moved, that such sounds proceeded from them as were significant words to the person who heard and understood such words when spoken. But these sounds conveyed no meaning to the serpent, or to the ass; both of whom, I apprehend, had spoken without any apprehension or intention of the sounds which came from

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[c] 2 Pet. ii. 16. [d] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii.

them. In all this there was plainly a miracle; for, that the thing was impossible, cannot reasonably be asserted, unless we can assert, that the air could not be, by the power of any agent whatsoever, in using the tongue of a serpent, put into this or that motion, to cause what words such agent designed to be sounded by it. But, 4. was it then God, who miraculously caused the tongue of the serpent to utter the words spoken? In the case of Balaam, the text tells us, that *the Lord opened the mouth of the ass:*[e] shall we here say, the Lord God opened the mouth of the serpent in like manner? I answer, no: the deceiving our first parents by a miracle, cannot be deemed a work worthy of God; but seems much more suitable to him, whom our New Testament denominates, *that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world.*[f] The falsehood spoken by the serpent to Eve, seems to come naturally enough from him, who, *when he speaketh a lie, speaketh of his own,* he being the original author of falsehood; for *he is a liar, and the father of it;*[g] and our blessed Saviour hints, that he was the real person who deceived Eve; for he was *a murderer from the beginning;*[h] and it was by him that *death came into the world.*[i] Therefore, we have such intimations, that it was not God, but Satan, who spake to our first parents by the serpent. But the question which will here occur, is, 5. Can we then say, that there is any power in

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[e] Numb. xxii. 28.
[f] Rev. xii. 9.
[g] John viii. 44.
[h] Ibid.
[i] Wisdom ii. 24.

the universe, except the power of Him, who is *God over all, blessed for ever*, that can make alteration in the natural faculties of any creature, or cause a mere serpent to be heard speaking in man's voice, whatever he may purpose to have spoken? If we say there may be any such power, it will be queried, whether, in supposing it, we do not set up two opposite and contending powers, each able, beyond our capability to distinguish their limitation, to create or give things a new nature contrary to their true one? And do we not hereby lay a foundation for great confusion of sentiment concerning God, and his power over the world?

I answer, 1. I apprehend there was no change made in the nature of the serpent, by his speaking to Eve, from what, in every respect, he was before. He was the same reptile; went upon his belly, even then, as a serpent now does;[k] had the same mouth, aud tongue, the instrument of speech, which a serpent still hath. His tongue was indeed moved in a way which he had not been accustomed to move it, and made such sounds as he never made before nor since. Adam and Eve, who heard him thus speak, and understood what he spake, but did not yet know that it was not natural for a serpent to have this faculty; readily apprehended, as indeed they well might, not knowing by what power he spake to them, that he was a creature of greater sagacity, than all other creatures of the animal world; all the rest appearing to them to be dumb, and not capable of such conversation. Yet all this while, I cannot con-

[k] Vide quæ postea.

ceive, that the serpent was at all wiser when he was speaking, than whilst he was dumb. For, as the vibrations of tongue, which gave the sounds he uttered, were just as involuntary and unconceived by him, as any mechanical or convulsive motions can be; the serpent knew no more what his tongue had uttered, than if the words spoken had been blown across by a wind, which had no connexion with him. 2. That Satan, that spiritual being, who, in the New Testament, is stiled *the Prince of the air*, may have a power to make in the air, by the tongue of any bird, beast, or animal, sounds of significant words, if God shall permit, does not, as far as I conceive, contradict any principle of true philosophy; any more, than that he might inflict[1] on Job, or may inflict on any of us, boils, sickness, or many other evils, if permission be given him. But herein the dependance of all powers upon God is preserved and acknowledged; herein we guard against all no-

[1] The author of the Book of Samuel had this notion of the agency of the wicked one, that he could do nothing, but under the permission and controul of God; and, accordingly, says of David's numbering the people, that God moved him to do it, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; when, in fact, the instigation came immediately, not from God, but from Satan. See 1 Chron. xxi. 1. But the author of the Book of Samuel intended to establish it as an universal truth, that God was supreme, and nothing could be done without him. Had not God permitted, Satan herein could have done nothing; and this, and nothing but this, was intended in saying, that he, the Lord, moved David to number the people.

The David is not an independent being as you or I, are

tions of two independent principles, the one good, and the other evil; by shewing, in all that has been done by the great agent of evil, that no one thing was ever done by him, but just so far as God permitted him to go, and no farther. Of the great adversary, who seduced our first parents, let us consider all that was done by him: did he speak to them from heaven, in a voice, as God spake to them? no: Why did he not? He was not permitted to speak in this manner. Did he appear to them in person; in a similitude that might carry dignity, and create himself respect? no: any thing of this sort was not allowed him. Did he cause some noble and respectable creature of the world to propose his insinuation? this he was not suffered to do. Did he create even a serpent suitable to the intention he designed to serve by it? this can in no wise be pretended. He was allowed, indeed, to use a creature of this very low species, but to use it only at a time, when the persons tempted had not such knowledge of the nature of a serpent, as to think it at all miraculous to hear one speaking. And when he had liberty to use this animal, was he able to make it speak elegantly, what great parts and capacity would have invented upon the subject? not at all—. What Milton has intimated, may abundantly shew a field to expatiate in,[m] if the tempter

[m] Milton carries on the temptation in a fine process of reasoning, supposed by him to have been artfully used by the serpent; any part of which must have been infallibly too much for our first parents, in the state of their knowledge of the reason of things, to be able to gainsay or contradict. But all

had been suffered to argue copiously upon the point proposed. But, in fact, the tempter was only permitted to bring, from the mouth of his agent, little more than a bare negation of what had been affirmed by the voice of God. In the event, indeed, little as he said, he said enough; for he succeeded. But all this while, an impartial examiner must allow, that no temptation was suffered to befal our first parents which could have had weight with them, unless they gave up the great principle, without which nothing could be wise or strong in them; namely, that they were to *obey God.* They had heard Him, who made them, say they should not eat; they heard a serpent, a low and creeping creature, vastly beneath themselves, say they might eat; they apprehended nothing wonderful in this animal's speaking, so that no thought of a miracle had any weight with them; what then determined them? We are told, Adam hearkened to the voice of his wife;[n] and it is plain, that though the serpent was the occasion of Eve's falling, yet judging for herself, contrary to the direction of God, that as the *tree was pleasant to the sight, and good for food,* so it was *to be desired to make one wise;* was what made the temptation too hard for her. But when the apostle tells us, *the serpent beguiled Eve by his subtlety;*[o] does the expression, here used by him,

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this is Milton's fancy; for Moses in no wise represents them as having been thus tempted above what they were able. See Milton, b. ix. ver. 532—722.

[n] Gen. iii. 17. [o] 2 Cor. xi. 3.

absolutely coincide with what I have been now saying? I answer, perfectly so: the apostle only represented a plain and real fact, as it was most evidently done; and it is a very proper way, thus to speak of things being done as they are evidently seen to be, without always diving to the bottom, or true springs and causes of them. Moses relates, that the serpent was subtle, and said—; his speaking was the subtlety remarked of him; from his speaking to her, Eve received sentiments by which she was deceived. What now could be said with more propriety of diction, than that the serpent, who really and truly spake to her, beguiled her? The apostle was no more obliged to discuss here, whether the serpent spake *sua*, or, nicely distinguishing, *non sua verba*; whether subtlety used by him was of his own natural sagacity, or of another's suggestion; or, whether the persons beguiled by him, did not add sentiments of their own to his intimation; than if his converts had suffered what he was afraid of, namely, their being corrupted from the simplicity of the gospel by any one speaking to them things contrary thereto; he must, if he had charged the persons so speaking with having corrupted them, have strictly determined, whether what such persons said to them was his own contrivance, or only words dictated to him by some other; and whether no improvement of what he said came into the minds of those who were seduced by him. This might be a matter proper to be considered, if the nature of the guilt of him who had deceived them, was the subject enquired into; but was in no wise necessary, if the fact only was to be related, *viz.* by whom they had been

deceived. *The serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety.*[p] The apostle barely recognizes a fact, really done, as Moses had recorded it; the words which Eve had heard from the serpent, were all she knew of the serpent's subtlety. Therefore we carry the apostle's words to a view further than he designed, if we suppose him deciding from whom originally, and by what manner of reasoning, the temptation offered to Eve proceeded; for he only reminds us, from whose mouth the words actually came, which ministered the temptation which proved her ruin. But the next point may have greater difficulties: for let us consider,

II. Whether it can be conceived, that the infinitely good God—, the God, not only of all power, but of all truth, and all rectitude, should admit, as it were, *the throne of iniquity to have fellowship with him, to frame mischief by a law?*[q] Can we think that God would

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[p] 2 Cor. xi. 3. [q] Psal. xciv. 20.—There are passages in the Book of Psalms, which, though we may inattentively overlook them, hint at and refute ancient abstruse notions, which obtained amongst the then sages of the world, who were not possessed of the true religion. One of these sentiments, recorded by Theopompus, as being a tenet of the antient magi, that ἀναβιωσεσθαι τους ἀνθρωπους, καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανατους, καὶ τα ονΐα ταις ἀυτων επικλησεσι διαμενειν· See Diogen. Laert. &c. in Proœm. p. 7. seems to be considered and refuted in Psal. xlix. in what the Psalmist offers, for due observation, *how wise men die, likewise the fool, and the brutish person, perish, and leave their wealth to others;* contrary to what he intimates as the inward thought of some, who seemed to suppose, that *their houses* should *continue for ever, and their*

make a law intrinsically of no importance, and then suffer a throne of wickedness, a power or principality of darkness, the devil or any of his angels, to frame mischief from it; to contrive to have it broken, only to bring thereby labour and sorrow, sin, misery, and death, upon men? Can we think that God, having made a rank of creatures, of a lower degree of light and understanding, but such, that if not tempted by some other, they would have persevered in their obedience to him, and been happy, would permit a wicked spirit, of higher abilities than they, to attack these creatures in a way, wherein, without his permission, he could not have had access to them, and thereby beguile and ensnare them into ruin? Should we not rather think it more reasonable, that if God gave our first parents such a law as has been mentioned, and if being left to themselves, they would not have swerved from it, he should

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dwelling-places to all generations, and *they call their lands after their own names*—&c. In like manner; as the power of God and of Satan in the affairs of the world appears to have been a subject not unthought of, in, and before, David's times, (see Job i. & ii. 2 Sam. xxiv. compared with 1 Chron. xxi. above cited;) I cannot determine, whether the throne of iniquity, mentioned by the Psalmist, and what is said of it, had a view only to wicked earthly rulers, as the commentators seem to take it, or might be designed to explode false doctrines of a higher nature, concerning the two principles, which some very early sages supposed to have each its share of power over the world: πρεσβυτερος ειναι των Αιγυπτιων, καὶ δυο κατ' αὐτους ειναι Αρχας, ἀγαθον δαιμονα καὶ κακον δαιμονα. Laert. ubi sup.

not have permitted any agent to have herein perverted them? The objection has in it a variety, that ought to be considered in several parts, if we would fully and truly answer it.

CHAP. X.

The objection last stated, considered and refuted.

THE objection above stated, will, I think, require us to consider,

I. Whether it can be reasonable that our first parents should be permitted to be tempted, by any being of a superior intelligence above themselves, in any manner whatsoever: but if we determine this in the negative, how greatly may we err, not seeing sufficiently into the creation of God.

> He, who through vast immensity can pierce,
> See worlds on worlds compose one universe;
> Observe how system into system runs,
> What other planets, and what other suns,
> What varied being peoples ev'ry star,
> May tell why heav'n made all things as they are.
> But of this frame, the bearings and the ties,
> The strong connexions, nice dependancies;— POPE.

The knowledge of them may not lie within our reach; and we may therefore determine very wrong concerning

much of what we can only partially consider in forming our judgment.

> Respecting man, whatever wrong we call,
> May, must be right, as relative to all. POPE.

The circle of our own agency, wonderfully operating over and by the powers of the creatures beneath us, though, in all they do, they have an intention of their own, distinct from us, may reasonably argue to us, that,

> When the proud steed shall know why man restrains
> His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;
> Then shall man's pride and dulness comprehend
> His action's, passion's, being's, use and end:
> Why doing, suff'ring, check'd, impell'd— POPE.

An analogy to one another runs through the powers of all intelligences in creation. The universe is but one *whole* in the hand of God; we are not independent principals, unconnected with others. Rather, the various spheres of action of all the innumerable orders of intelligent spirits, that exist among the works of the supreme God, are to have, under his direction and controul, their line, their weight and measure, to affect and be affected by one another. And the event resulting from all, is to afford a true judgment of all; when all the evil, which may hence have come in, shall have had its course, and be cast out; and the sum of all be found the greatest possible good, upon the whole, to the Creator's glory.

> In human works, tho' labour'd on with pain,
> A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain;

In God's, one single can its end produce,
Yet serves to second too some other use:
So man, who here seems principal alone,
Perhaps, acts second to some sphere unknown;
Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal,
'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole. POPE.

We in no wise see the scene of the demerit of apostate spirits; nor how far it may be requisite they should be permitted to fill up their own measure, within just and wise limitations, (and in such we find the tempter of Eve greatly restrained,) to answer the great ends of the infinite and eternal Providence. Sin, indeed, and death, have thereby come into our present state; and death must reign upon all, until the state we are in be accomplished; but let us

Wait the great teacher, Death, POPE.

and we shall, in time, be able

To look thro' nature up to nature's God;
Pursue the chain, which links th' immense design,
Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine. POPE.

We shall then see, beyond what we are now able to conceive, that, whatever hath befallen us, all will display a most amazing height, and depth, and length, and breadth of the wisdom, and power, and goodness, and glory of Him, who will hence bring those, who shall be meet to be partakers of it,[a] through the *one man, whom he hath ordained, Jesus Christ*, to *the kingdom prepared*

[a] Col. i. 12.

for man *from the foundation of the world*;[b] and the wicked, whether they have been men or angels, shall go to their own place.

II. But it may be said; "What if it were fit, and might answer a great end, that an intelligent evil spirit, higher than they, should be permitted to tempt our first parents? Is there not a natural impropriety in supposing that the particular access of such a spirit to them hath been as Moses describes, and that the temptation hath been of that sort which he records? To suppose that an intellectual spirit, not visible to our first parents, should speak to them, not in a voice that might have been thought his own, but by the tongue of a serpent seen by them; and this to persuade them to do a thing in itself neither good nor evil, to eat of the fruit of a tree, only because God had forbidden them to eat of it; is there any thing, that appears natural in this procedure? Has it the colour of a rational endeavour to bring moral evil into the world? If our adversary, the devil, had been permitted, as he is a spirit, to have had a spiritual access to the minds of our first parents, to suggest to them evil thoughts and evil desires, to fill them by degrees with all uncleanness, to bring them to destruction, both of body and soul—; this would have seemed a reasonable procedure for such a spirit of darkness: he has for ages thus worked, and even still *worketh* thus, *in the children of disobedience*.[c] But, to suppose that the Almighty had set, as it were, a spell over our first parents, to require them not to eat of a

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[b] Acts xvii. 31. Matth. xxv. 34. [c] Eph. ii. 2.

particular tree; had determined, that whilst they kept within this injunction, no evil spirit should get within them to hurt them; but, if they would be seduced to break through it, that neither they nor their posterity should ever after be able to be proof against the evil one---; does this look like the way of supreme understanding, according to the reason and nature of things, and therefore to be the way of God with man?"---I have, I think, given this objection all the strength of which it is capable; at least I am sure that I have endeavoured so to do. If I could find words which would express it more advantageously, I would use them; for I take this, in reality, to be the whole hinge upon which all that is to be said against the religion of the Bible can turn. Let us now attentively consider how far we can answer it.

Here the material point to be considered is, whether the particular manner of the temptation objected to, was not, in reality, exactly suited to the œconomy, or manner and measure in which the Creator had made man? God, the divine workmaster, must have so ordered his dispensations, as to be suitable to the measure and nature of his works, for which they were designed. Such as he made man, to such he dispensed, that he

Qualis ab incepto *procederet*, HOR.

might have the progress and procedure of his being exactly suited to what were his original native powers and endowments. Had God made man such a being, that a true and right intelligence of the nature of things would, at all times, instantly have occurred to his mind

to give him a right judgment concerning them,[d] the natural way of temptation to such a being, might have been to admit a perverted spirit to try his better judgment, to draw him, if he could, from his own right sentiments into evil. But if God at first made man with lesser powers, such a permission would have subjected him to an unequal conflict indeed; for, however reasonable it may appear, that the wicked one should be permitted to attempt to *catch away that which is sown in our hearts:*[e] when we need not lose that which is sown, if we be willing to preserve it; it cannot follow, that it could be fit, that he should be admitted, before any thing was sown in the heart of man, so to possess the heart, as to make it naturally impossible that any good thing should find a place in it. Had God made man, at first, such as our rationalists assert, left absolutely to the guidance of natural light, to discover thereby the duties of his life; expecting no service from him, but what his own reason would suggest; it would seem unnatural, I might say, a contradiction, to assert, that, before man had done, or even thought good or evil, God should interpose, by giving him a law, which no reason of his own could, without God's interposing, have laid before him; and, permitting him to be tempted by the voice of a serpent to break this law, absolutely to defeat all he might otherwise have

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[d] Si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam ipsam intueri et perspicere eâdemque optimâ Duce cursum vitæ conficere possemus. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 3.

[e] Matth. xiii. 19.

done, in pursuing what his natural powers would have led him to see to be the reason, and reasonable conduct of his life. But if, on the contrary, we may affirm, from what is written by Moses, that God did not create man with this beam of actual understanding, but gave him only the information of his senses, and a capacity of mind, free, as not being under an over-ruling instinct, and yet not having power to be so perfect, as to want no external information; and that God designed, wherever man should want it, to give him this information, by causing him to hear his voice from heaven; requiring him to have faith in him; to believe and obey whatever he should thus hear from his Maker; it is absolutely consistent with this œconomy, that he might give man, thus far, but no farther, endowed, such a command as Moses mentions, to be to him both a sign of what he was to expect from God, for the direction of his life, and an inviolate standard and remembrancer, to pay unto God, in every thing he should command, *the obedience of faith*. The faith of man in believing God, being thus derived from *hearing*,[f] it could not be meet, that the temptation to disobey should come to him otherwise than by hearing; that, unless he would choose to pervert himself, no other should have a more intimate admittance to corrupt him. Now, if the temptation was thus to come to him only by *hearing*; surely we must allow, that what he heard from God, and all that he heard to tempt him to disobey God, must appear, in all the circumstances of both, to be very suffi-

[f] Rom. x. 17.

ciently distinguished, so as to leave our first parents without excuse, for not strictly adhering to obey the one and reject the other. Thus the whole apparent reasonableness, or seeming contrariety to the reason of things, in what Moses relates, taken to be historically true, depends upon whether it be fact that God did at first create man to guide his own life, as himself should devise, left absolutely to himself to find out the reason of those duties which he should investigate and practise; or, whether God made man to hear his voice, in order to be directed by it; to receive whatever God should, by external revelation, make known to him; to make this the rule and guide of his actions. This, therefore, is a point so material, and so really the whole of man, that I hope I do not digress from the intention of my undertaking, if I now and then repeatedly endeavour to prove that this ought to have been the ruling principle of our first parents in their lives.

But, it is asked, "Was the prohibition a sort of spell, that, whilst our first parents observed it, so preserved them, that the evil one, although he was a spirit, could not approach to hurt them, nor they fall into evil, to their undoing; but, that as soon as they had broken through this charm, they became so liable to all evil, both from without and within, that henceforth all men would inevitably sin, and freedom from guilt would be now no more?" I answer, the dressing up a proposition in terms of ridicule, is not a just and reasonable way to discover what is true, or detect what is false.[s]

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[s] See Mr. Brown's very excellent Essay on Ridicule.

It is raising an inconsiderate contempt of what ought to be brought to the bar of more deliberate examination, to be there approved or rejected, as a right and well, weighed judgment of things may appear for or against it. Now, if, instead of using frivolous words upon the occasion, which prove nothing, we take the point here to be considered under due enquiry; we shall see that the prohibition given to our first parents, as Moses relates it, was no spell or charm, but what was naturally both necessary and sufficient for them. Our first parents were made living souls; they had outward perception and inward understanding, but both only in such a degree, that if, in using them, they would admit the voice of God to direct them, wherever he should see they wanted direction; hereby they would be kept *in the hand of* God's *counsel*, so as not to fall into any error to their undoing. Their knowledge of life, and experience of their being, could not yet shew them their moral situation: how suitable then was it to have some one plain inhibition to teach them that they were not to do any thing whatever, which God should think fit, by his express voice, to prohibit? And as God was pleased to add hereto his express command, enjoining them the duties of their lives;[h] what could they have wanted now, if they would truly have[i] made *this* their

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[h] God's adding to the prohibition of not eating of the tree, his command for the relative duty of man and wife, Gen. ii. 24. shews in what manner he would have been pleased to inform them, as time and the incidents of their lives should require, in their other moral duties.

[i] Deut. iv. 6.

wisdom, this their *understanding*, to keep and observe all that the Lord their God should declare? The natural event of their herein preserving themselves, could be no other, than that using all the powers of their own minds, whereinsoever God did not think fit specially to interpose, but strictly conforming to whatever he directed; man, though made with lower powers of reason than angels, being guided by his Creator, and ripening himself, might have gradually advanced unto all truth. But when, instead of thus proceeding, our first parents deviated from obeying the voice of God, to hearken to the words of a lower speaker, and to break the commandment of Him who made them, because it seemed to be *pleasant to* their *eyes* so to do, and *a thing to be desired to make* them *wise*; what else did they herein, but take themselves out of the hand of God's counsel, into the hands of their own? And what could this possibly lead to, unless they had been created with greater actual knowledge, or with the powers of a more unerring understanding, but to all mistake, and by degrees, unto every evil work.

Another part of the objection is, "that if our first parents had not been tempted from without by a deceiver, they would not have broken the commandment of their God." But we see things very superficially indeed, if we do not perceive enough to apprize us, that if we say this in our heart, we certainly do not enquire wisely into this matter. That, in fact, a serpent speaking in man's voice, occasioned in our first parents (whilst they two were the all of mankind as yet in the world) a sentiment, that what God had prohibited, was both pleasant and desirable, in the reason of the thing, to be done,

to make them wise, is indeed true; and that this sentiment was too hard for them; but it can in no wise follow, that, had it not been thus incidentally occasioned, earlier, perhaps, than otherwise they might have thought of it, it would never have had rise in the heart of man. If we consider it's nature, no thought here took hold of them, but what is common to man;[k] for it has in all ages been a captivating point in human theory, that what seems to us contrary to what we account wisdom, may not be a real revelation from God. And if the breaking the commandment concerning the forbidden tree had not happened until our first parents had gradually formed their hearts more deliberately to reject it; how do we know but a thought might have been raised in them, *which* could *never be changed*[l] in the way and manner in which it must be ever fit, that God should govern, but not absolutely force the moral world. Or, had it not taken effect until the sons of men were many, until mankind were multiplied upon the earth, can we say, whether the fall of mankind would, in the measure and manner of it, have been so suited to the great and deep purpose in the hidden counsel of God, to bring man out of all his evil to salvation at last?[m] The nature of virtue or vice in moral agents must require, that it be really in our own choice, to do the one or the other; but the times and seasons when the incidents shall happen, that may give us an opportunity of standing or falling by our own choice, are best

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[k] See Connect. vol. iii. b. ix. [l] Wisdom xii. 10.

[m] See Eph. i. 4—12. iii. 11. Rom. v. 12—19.

left unto God, to have them ministered to us as he sees to be most proper. The Jews were permitted to complete our Saviour's death, whilst yet they protested, that if he would have come down from the cross, they would have believed in him.[n] Whether they really would or not, we cannot say; but if God knew they would not, it was a mercy to them that he let their transgression be finished, whilst yet it might be prayed for.[o] That mankind would not so govern that spark of reason, wherewith God had endowed them, as not through it to break away from that dependance which they ought to have on him, was undoubtedly foreseen by God before the worlds were; which, duly considered, will suggest a thought to us, that if we could be admitted to see the whole counsel of God, we might find, that in permitting sin and death to come by *one man* into the world, as related by Moses, he best knew how to link and connect his design of bringing mankind unto salvation by the *obedience of one.*

But there remains one suggestion more, which I think a few observations may very clearly refute. It will be said, "What if our first parents did break this positive command, concerning the tree, of which no reason could tell them it was intrinsically good or evil; will it follow, that they therefore would have disobeyed God in any one moral law, which he would have been pleased to make known to them?" Although Adam and Eve did not keep inviolate the observance, not to eat of the tree; we do not see that they proceeded, or had

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[n] Matth. xxvii. 42. [o] Luke xxiii. 34.

any desire to think of breaking the law concerning man and wife, which God declared to them;[p] might they not have been as punctual in observing every moral law for the duties of life, whenever such law should have been made known to them? I answer, we may judge very rashly in this great matter; and, in all we thus say of it, only *darken the counsels of the Most High, by words without knowledge.*[q] The Israelites, I question not, believed, that both they and their posterity would keep their solemn resolution[r] to serve their own God, and not be corrupted to go after the idols of Canaan; although they did not so strictly expel the Canaanites out of their land, as[s] God had commanded them; but the event soon shewed that their imagination was only vain. God, who sees into us, and sees through us, knows best what observances may be necessary to exercise us to our duties; and could best judge, whether, whenever our first parents would go beyond the restraint he had prescribed them, they would not therein cherish a thought which would naturally fill apace every measure of error, and heap it up, to run over into their bosom. The principle intended to be established by the command concerning the tree, was, as I have said, that our first parents, having no actual science of life, should proceed *in the hand*, under the direction *of* God's *counsel*, to make it their *wisdom* and *understanding*, strictly to practise whatsoever God should enjoin them. And the con-

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[p] Gen. ii. 24. ut sup.

[q] Job xxxviii. 2.

[r] Joshua xxiv. 21—25.

[s] See Judges i. Numb. xxxiii. 52, 55.

sequence of rejecting to be under this direction, to follow, instead thereof, what seemed agreeable in their own eyes, and desirable in their own judgment; might naturally plant in them the root, from whence all these shoots have sprung, which have been the great preservation of human life. This being duly considered, must lead us, not to think of the positive command given our first parents, as a thing indifferent, or of no real moment; rather, to use the words of St. Paul, as equally applicable to this the beginning of revealed religion, as to the end and completion of it. God, in giving our first parents the law of the prohibited tree, *abounded towards* them *in all wisdom and prudence*;[t] to give them, such creatures as he had made them, a law, which, observed as it ought, would, in its natural event, have been their life and salvation.

We may speculate at random as we please upon the subject; but if fact is at all to guide us, we must observe, that this beginning of error being once admitted, notwithstanding God's immediately proceeding to denounce and ascertain the terrible punishment he had declared should be the wages of it; yet the error itself did not cease, although it could not be again committed in the same fact which was Adam's transgression; but rather grew luxuriant, and abounded in the world. We read of one person in the first world, who most eminently *walked with God*,[u] in *the obedience of faith*; Enoch herein so pleased God, as to be *translated*.[x] There were others, who were found faithful *in their ge-*

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[t] Eph. i. 8. [u] Gen. v. 22, 24. [x] Heb. xi. 5.

nerations, in what had been revealed to them;[y] but, in general, the principle of doing what seemed right in their own eyes, appears to have so greatly prevailed, that Lamech, a descendant from Cain, some centuries before Adam died,[z] thought so differently from what God had most expressly commanded, concerning man and wife,[a] that he introduced polygamy.[b] And the world in general, in little more than the then age, and half an age of man, was become so corrupt, in man's departing from God and his laws,[c] to follow the imaginations of their own hearts;[d] that to preserve right and truth from perishing from off the face of the earth, it became the wisdom of God, eight persons only excepted, to destroy the world.

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[y] Gen. v. Ecclus. xliv. Heb. xi.

[z] Lamech was grandson of Cain: perhaps not born later than Enos, the son of Seth: and, if so early, was born almost seven hundred years before Adam died. See the tables of the lives of the antediluvian Fathers, Connect. vol. i. b. i.

[a] Gen. ii. 24. [b] Gen. iv. 19.

[c] The life of man, at this time, was about nine hundred years. See Gen. v.

[d] Gen. v. 5. Job xxii. 17.

CHAP. XI.

The immediate consequences of our first Parents' eating of the forbidden tree: and the sentence which God passed upon the Serpent, on account of their transgression.

NO sooner had our first parents eaten of the tree forbidden them, but we are told *their eyes were opened*, and *they knew they were naked*.[a] We must here ask, what sentiments could our first parents receive from what they had done, to affect them in this manner? And it is amazing how many writers have most absurdly trifled upon this topic.[b]

If we would know truly what Moses here intended, we must carefully attend to what he himself has expressed. And here let us observe, that Moses does not say, that what the serpent had promised our first parents was fulfilled to them; they understood the serpent as telling them that some great advantage of sight would be given them;[c] but the event certainly did not answer their expectations. The serpent had said unto them, *your eyes*

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[a] Gen. iii. 7.

[b] Videtur ingenerâsse, nescio quo succo, vel quâ aliâ virtute, novos sensus pudoris et modestiæ, vel nuditatis ut dicitur; quasi nullum pudorem habuissent in rebus venereis ante lapsum, hodie tamen in rebus istiusmodi innocuos maximè comitatur pudor. Burnet. Archæol. p. 292.

[c] Vide quæ sup.

ent from what they had conceived would have befallen them.

What Moses here intended to say was the real event which happened to our first parents, must be gathered from the use he makes elsewhere of the expression, *eyes being opened.* We find it remarkably used in the case of Hagar, in the wilderness of Beersheba;[e] who had wandered there with her son Ishmael.[f] The water she had brought with her in a bottle was all spent, and both she and her child, with her, were in danger of perishing for want of a supply. But Moses tells us, *the Lord opened her eyes, and she saw a well.*[g] We are not to suppose a miracle here done; the well is not said to have been created at this time; for, undoubtedly, it was in the same place before she saw it, as it was afterwards; and her eyes might be, in reality, as open, before she saw the well, as when she espied it. But she now turned her eyes to the place where the well was, and saw what before she had not observed; and this, in Moses' expression, was having her eyes opened. In this sense, likewise, Moses writes it of our first parents; after eating of the tree, their *eyes were opened*; they saw a circumstance of their condition, which, before, they had not remarked, and which led them to a thought, as new to them, *they knew that they were naked.*[h]

The question now is, in what sense did they know themselves to be naked? And here, both later commentators, and many ancient and grave writers, have, as I

[e] Gen. xxi.
[f] Ver. 14.
[g] Ver. 19.
[h] Gen. iii. 7.

above hinted, immodestly trifled. It is generally thought, that nakedness now first became a shame; but Moses in no wise gives any such intimation: he tells us of a very different passion here raised by it; it gave them fear. Adam was not *ashamed*, but *afraid*, *because he was naked*, and therefore hid himself; and it is obvious to see the just reason he had for this sense of his condition. The word, which we render *naked*, has, indeed, in general, this, its most obvious signification; but it is used in other senses, by a sort of metaphor, in many places of scripture; and, in the place before us particularly, we ought to take it, as it is used in the Book of Job. Hell, says that writer, *is (aarom) naked before him, and destruction has no covering*:[k] *i. e.* hell and destruction lie open, not concealed from the eye, nor in any way covered from the vengeance of God. This sense of the place is just and elegant, free from the shameful fooleries, which writers, not carefully considering, have ingrafted upon it. Adam and Eve had taken upon them, not to rest satisfied in what God had commanded; but to begin to think for themselves, contrary to what He had said to them. And their thoughts taking this turn, one sentiment brought on another; they were now to be wise for themselves, without, nay against, their Maker. Now, how natural was it for them, going in the paths of this theory, to be reminded, and consider how to guard against Him, who had severely threatened what they had committed? Alas! their eyes now told them they had no covering; neither could they think

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[i] Gen. iii. 7. [k] Job xxvi. 6.

how to find a shelter, which might protect them. However, they attempted to do the best they could; *they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons.*[l]

They made themselves aprons. Here again Moses is supposed to say, what no one would have thought of, unless he imagined that our first parents had reasons of shame to cover some particular parts of their bodies. But Moses hints nothing like it: his words are, *vajithperu aaleh teenah, vejaaashu lehem chaggoroth.*[m] We may observe, that the word which we render *leaves*, is, in the text, not plural, but singular; and, I apprehend, that both here, and in some other places of scripture, it should be rendered, not *leaves*, but a *foliature*, or *intertwining of leaves*, and that the whole paragraph should be thus translated: they wreathed together a foliature of the fig-tree, and made themselves enwrapments; *i. e.* they wrapped themselves up in them.

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[l] Gen. iii. 7.

[m] ויתפרו עלה תאנה ויעשו להם חגרת

Vestimenta circumligata sibi et fecerunt ficûs foliaturam insuerunt i. e. intexuerunt.

As the text may be thus construed, Dr. Burnet's low ridicule of the beginning of the art of a seamstress, of their having neither thread nor needle, is without foundation. 'En!' says he, 'primordia artis sutoriæ: sed unde illis acus, unde filum?' Archæol. p. 293.—There was no want of any instruments to try to entwine tender boughs into one another, and it must seem a very natural thought for them to attempt a work of this nature.

What they wanted, was to hide themselves from God. An apron, or a cincture about their waists, would in no wise answer this purpose; therefore they could have no thought of so partial a covering; but the casing themselves up within boughs full of leaves, to look like trees, and thereby to escape his observation,—this might be a sentiment not too weak for a first thought of persons, who, when they found their investments inconvenient or insufficient, were still *so ignorant and foolish before God*, as to conceive, that they might possibly be hidden from Him behind the trees of the garden.

What Moses therefore relates, thus explained, is highly natural; they had broken the commandment of the Lord their God; and now it came into their mind, how shall we escape his observation? Will he not soon see us? and when he sees us, will he not punish? Every thought about themselves now was a new terror; their eyes were opened, and they saw they had no covering; their hearts were alarmed, they considered they had nothing wherewith they might protect themselves against him; whither now could they fly from his presence? or what should they do to ward off his displeasure? Had they now known the world, and the hiding-places which are therein, they would have gone into *the dens and rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, fall on us, and hide us* from the face of Him, and from his wrath to come.[n] But they had, as yet, been little farther than the compass of their garden, and knew of no thicker cover than the leaves and shelter of their

[n] Rev. vi. 16.

trees; with some of these, therefore, they tried to wrap up and disguise themselves, as well as they could; and herein they seemed to amuse themselves, until towards the evening of the day: they then heard the voice of God moving from one part of the garden to the other;[o] which struck them with fresh confusion. Their fears came now upon them *like an armed man*; they were not able to abide in the way of the voice of God, but gat themselves into the closest thicket of trees they could find, and here they hoped to lie hid. But the voice of God, calling now more peremptorily, *Adam, where art thou?* darted terrors quite through him; he could no longer think that he was concealed, but came forth, confessing, that he *was afraid because* he was *naked*, and had therefore hid himself.[p] The transaction is a most natural progress of conscious guilt; and the words which Adam now spake, are as natural, and a deep humiliation of himself before God. They are, as if he had said, I was afraid, and hid myself; but I see I am naked, I have no cover from thine eye; I know also that I am further naked, unarmed against, having nothing to oppose to, or protect me from thy power; I submit, Lord, do unto me as thou wilt.

It is very obvious to remark, how our translators and commentators came to have a notion of Adam and Eve's shame for their nakedness. In the last verse of the second chapter of Genesis we have this observation, that, *they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.* It being here observed, that no shame

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[o] Gen. iii. 8—10. [p] Ver. 10.

attended their being naked before they ate of the tree, it was concluded that a shame of being naked entered with sin into the world. But I would, hereupon, offer to the reader's consideration,

1. That what is expressed in this 25th verse of the second chapter of Genesis, is an observation that has no manner of reference to, or connexion with, any thing before said, which might give occasion for it; nor does it any way lead to introduce what follows in beginning the next chapter. It seems, in its obvious sense, quite an independent remark, which might indeed be made by any one who considered, that at that time they were not clothed: but had mankind never worn clothes at all, nothing was yet said which could have occasioned such an observation. Every thing which Moses had related, or proceeded to relate, would have been as full and complete without it as with it.

2. There are several observations of this sort, in many parts of the Old Testament, and in the Book of Genesis particularly, which the learned agree, were not originally in the text; but were hints written[q] in the margin of ancient copies, as observations from, or upon, the text; and that transcribers from these copies, not carefully distinguishing, took them into the text; that such transcribers, not being modern, but more ancient than any printed copies, or, indeed, any manuscript bibles now extant; perhaps we have now no copies without some of these insertions in the text. If, indeed, the

[q] See Prideaux's Connect. part i. b. v. Connect. Sacr. and Proph. History, vol. ii. b. vii. vol. iii. b. xii.

meaning of the verse we are treating was, that Adam and Eve were not ashamed at their wearing no clothing, and I could have any warrant from any one copy to omit it, I should be inclined to think it an insertion of this nature.

3. But I apprehend the truth is, that this verse was not intended at all to speak of their being naked, in respect to clothing. As the word *naked* has metaphorical senses in some passages of the Old Testament, so also has the word, which we here translate *ashamed.*[7] It is far from signifying, in all places, being affected with what we call the passion of shame; it often means, being *confounded* or *destroyed.* The word here used is a termination of the verb [*buosh*, בוש], and this is the verb used by Isaiah, where, recollecting how God had destroyed the kings of Canaan before the Israelites, and laid *waste their fenced cities into ruinous heaps*; he tells us, that *their inhabitants were of small power; they were dismayed*, [ובשו, *veboshu.*] He does not here mean that they literally had the passion of shame affecting them, but *were confounded*; were, as he proceeds, *as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the house-tops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up.*[8] And this was Moses' meaning in the word here used; a meaning of it perfectly coinciding with what afterwards appeared to be his sentiment of man's standing personally to hear the voice of God. Moses, elsewhere, speaks of it as being no ordinary mercy, that a man

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[7] The Hebrew text is, ולא יתבששו.

[8] 2 Kings xix. 26. Isaiah xxxvii. 26.

should *hear the voice of God and live*;[t] therefore he might here leave us this observation, concerning our first parents; that God spake to them, and that, although they stood *naked* before him, *i. e.* in his more immediate presence, under no covert, nigh to him, to hear the voice of his words talking to them, they experienced what Moses always reputed a very extraordinary thing, that *God did talk with man*, and they were not *confounded*, but *lived*.[u]

Thus far we have no difficulty: we are now to consider what the voice of God said to Adam upon his confessing himself thus naked before him. *And he* (i. e. God) *said, who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?*[x] The words point very clearly to what I have explained to be the meaning of Adam's thinking himself naked. Had Adam intended by that expression, that he was ashamed to appear before God, upon account of his having no clothes, here would have been something said hugely trifling, and no way pertinent to any circumstance of his condition; but take him to mean by naked, not covered from the sight of God, and without any defence or protection against his power; and the reply from God here is, as if he had said, you say you are without cover from, and without defence against me: have you never been so before me until now? Have you hitherto wanted any cover or defence? Who tells you, that you now want them? I never threatened you, but for one thing: art thou

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[t] Deut. iv. 33. [u] Deut. v. 24. [x] Gen. iii. 11.

afraid? Hast thou done that one thing, to be afraid of me? This now speaks itself to be the reason and explanation of what God was pleased to say to Adam, and refers evidently to what Adam had done to occasion this being said to him. Adam hereupon denied not, but confessed his guilt; *the woman*, said he, *whom thou gavest me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.*[y] The woman being interrogated, answered without evasion, *the serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.*[z] All this, I think, can want no comment; we may therefore proceed to examine the sentence, which God hereupon passed upon the offenders.

And here we read, that *the Lord God said unto the serpent: because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.*[a] The objectors, hereupon, ask,—"Shall we say, that the nature of the serpent was now changed? that, before the serpent had done what he is here made criminal for, he was an animal that walked upright,[b] and moved in a manner very different from what he now moves in? Were his whole make and shape, and powers of moving, upon the sentence now passed upon him, totally altered? If they were not, he was, before this sentence, just the same reptile, as he was after it; and if so, then no punishment was inflicted. If we say, God changed his make and form, and

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[y] Gen. iii. 12.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Gen. iii. 13.

[b] Vide criticos in loc. Rivet. exercit. in Gen.

degraded him to a low reptile for the mischief he had done; how can this be?[c] For, where there was no fault, how should God punish?" If, as I have observed, the words which came to Eve, from the mouth of the serpent, were, in reality, not the serpent's words; were words he in no wise intended, nor had any sense of, or meaning in them,[d] wherein could the serpent be criminal? and, if he was not criminal, why should he be so execrated and degraded? They, who oppose our understanding Moses in a literal sense, seem here to triumph; and I cannot say, that those who answer them, do speak so clearly as might be wished in this particular. The true fact in what had been done, undoubtedly was, that the serpent had been no moral agent in the affair, had really done nothing; for he was only a mere tool, an instrument in the use of an invisible agent; and therefore cannot be thought either accountable, or deserving to be punished, for any thing which had happened; so that we ought carefully to examine the

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[c] De pœnâ serpentis non levis est quæstio: si diabolus rem totam egit sub specie serpentis; vel si coegit serpentem, ut ea ageret vel pateretur; quid serpens luit pœnas criminis a diabolo commissi? Dein, quoad modum et formam pœnæ in serpentem irrogatæ, nemque quòd in posterum pronus iret in ventrem, quid hoc sibi velit non est facile explicatu: erectum anteà fuisse serpentem, aut quadrupedum more incessisse ægrè quis dixerit: quòd si verò ferebatur pronus in ventrem ab initio, ut hodierni angues, ineptum videri possit id pro supplico, et in pœnam singularis facti, huic animali imponi aut attribui, quod semper et a naturâ habuit. Burnet. Archæol. p. 291.

[d] Vide quæ sup.

words of Moses, whether he says any thing which intimates that God had really called the serpent here to an account, or inflicted any punishment upon him.

It is, indeed, observable, that not only our English, but all versions of the text of Moses, render the place, as if great guilt was imputed to the serpent, and punishment thereupon denounced against him; but if the reader be apprised how the Hebrew particle כי [ki], in the text, which we translate, *because*, ought to have been rendered, not *because*, but *although*; the passage will appear to have a different meaning.[e]

The words used by Moses, are *ki ashitha zaoth*;[f] we render them, *because* thou *hast done this*: the particle *ki* has often this signification, and possibly may be thus taken, where Adam is spoken to, in the 17th verse, *ki shamata*,[g] *because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife*.——But it must be rendered otherwise in other places. In Genesis viii. 21, *the Lord God said, I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake*; FOR, [ki,] *the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth*. Had we here rendered the particle *ki*, *because*, we had darkened the sense extremely; and the translating it FOR, does not entirely clear it. The words truly rendered, are as follow: *I will not curse the ground any more*---ALTHOUGH *the imagination of man's heart is evil*:---This is the true meaning of the words:

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[e] The Arabic version seems to specify, that the serpent designedly beguiled Eve: *cum feceris hoc scienter*, in the Latin version of the place. But how groundless is this fancy?

[f] כי עשית זאת [g] Gen. iii. 17.

God was pleased to determine, not to curse the ground any more, *although* the wickedness of man was such as deserved its being again cursed. Thus again, in another place: Israel *stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon* Ephraim's *head, who was the younger*, but he laid *his left hand upon* Manasseh's *head*; *ki*, we say, FOR Manasseh *was first born*.[h] Surely the reason intimated is a little confused: but if we had rendered the words, ALTHOUGH Manasseh *was the first born*, the expression would be just and significant. And thus in Psalm xxv. *Pardon my iniquity*, *ki*, we say, *for it is great*;[i] but we should better express the Psalmist's meaning, if we translated it, ALTHOUGH it is great. Our version has, in one place, given the particle this its true meaning: *God led them not through* the land of the *Philistines*; we here render the particle *ki*, justly, ALTHOUGH *it was near*.[k]

And thus the verse concerning the serpent ought to have been translated: *And the Lord God said unto the serpent*, ALTHOUGH *thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field*; *upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life*. The words in no wise imply, that a change of the nature of the serpent was now inflicted on him; he remained the same animal as he was created. But they are, as it were, an apostrophe to the serpent, in the hearing of Adam and Eve, designed to evince to them, what a folly, as well as crime, they had been

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[h] כי מנשה הבכור Gen. xlviii. 14. [i] כי רב הוא ver. 11.
[k] כי קרב Exod. xiii. 17.

guilty of, in being deceived by so low a seducer. The words are, as if God had said to the serpent: "Although thou hast done this great mischief, yet thou art no lofty and respectable creature; thou art one of the meanest of all animals; thou art not raised to any high form, but art a mere reptile, and shalt always continue to be so; upon thy belly thou art made to go; and shalt feed low all the days of thy life, in the very dust."* Adam and Eve had conceived high notions of the serpent, *above all the beasts of the field which the Lord had made*;[l] but God here reprehends their foolish fancy, and sets before them, what their own eyes might have told them, that the serpent was a creature made only for a very low life; and that no such elevation as they imagined should ever belong to him.[m]

The translators of the bible, were, I dare say, led to think a punishment was here inflicted upon the serpent, from the expression of his being *cursed* above every beast of the field. *To be cursed*, may be to have some

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* Was there ever a second person of the above opinion? Surely such a far-fetched interpretation of a text never saw the sun.——EDIT.

[l] Gen. iii. 1.

[m] The ancient naturalists have largely considered the propriety of the motion of a serpent, to its whole make, and construction of the nature of its body; ἐκ τουτων γὰρ φανερον, οτι τῶν ἐναιμων οσα κατὰ μηκος διεσυμμετρα εἰσι προς τὴν αλλην τοῦ σώματος φυσιν, καθαπερ οι οφεις, ἐυθυν διον τι αυτῶν ὑποποδον εἶναι. Aristot. lib. de Animalium incessu, c. viii.

signal mischief or great evil, either wished to, or inflicted upon, the person *cursed*. This is indeed the general signification of the word; but it ought to be considered, whether it is contrary to the nature of the Hebrew tongue, to call a thing cursed, when such circumstances belong to it as are so extremely bad, that it might be deemed as unhappy a thing, even as a most severe curse, to be under them, though they be not inflicted as a particular judgment. In this sense the Jews, in our Saviour's time, called their vulgar or common people *cursed*,[n] who, they thought, could not know the law. We cannot suppose them, here, as meaning that the body of their people were under any particular *curse* or judgment of God, which deprived them of all possibility of knowing their duties; rather they thought of them in the sentiment of the prophet; *Surely these are poor; they are foolish, for they know not the way of the Lord, nor the judgment of their God; I will get me to the great men, and will speak unto them, for they have known the way of the Lord.*[o] The prophet here looks upon the poor, not as particularly cursed of God; for this he could not think,[p] but they were in such circumstances as might not have afforded them any considerable information concerning their duties, and he therefore said, he would *get* him *to the great*, as reputing it more likely to find them *ready to hear and understand*. In this way the Jews held their estimation of the common people: they imagined it not likely that

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[n] John vii. 49. [o] Jerem. v. 4, 5.

[p] See Prov. xxii. 1. Deut. xv. 11.

these should know the law; therefore they deemed them so despicably ignorant, that though no particular judgment of God was in the case, yet they held them in no kind of regard, but as in a cursed or most contemptible condition. It is no unnatural way of speaking to say of poor, barren, and unprofitable land, that it is *cursed ground*; not only where God may have been pleased to make *a fruitful land barren, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein*,[q] as was particularly the case of the earth that was cursed upon our first parents' having sinned,[r] but also when the land is very steril and unfruitful, though no particular *curse* of God has ever been denounced against it. In the Hebrew tongue we often find things, eminently excellent in their kind, said therefore to be of God; cedars of Lebanon, highly flourishing, to be, for that reason, of God's planting; so, on the contrary, the word *cursed* may as resonably be used, as it were in contrast, where God had given no appearance of a blessing. Adam and Eve were thinking highly of the serpent; the design of what God now said was to shew them, that he was a creature deserving their lowest notice: they thought him above *any beast of the field which the Lord had made*. The words here spoken were to tell them, that he was not above, but beneath all others; so creeping and abject, that his make and form might be spoken of in terms, as if they were a curse upon him.[s]

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[q] Psal. cvii. 34. [r] Gen iii. 17.

[s] I do not know whether I might not observe, that the death of *being hanged on a tree*, was said to be a *cursed*

But the words that next follow have greater difficulties: *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*[t] The enquiries I would make concerning these words are, I. Whether Adam and Eve understood them? II. Whether they conceived that they had any reference to the animal, the serpent from whose mouth they had heard the words which had beguiled Eve? III. What may be the true and literal meaning of them?

I. Are we sure that Adam and Eve understood what God now spake to them?[u] They are words, which, I hope, I shall be able reasonably to explain, and shew to be the first prophecy which was made to the world. I call them a prophecy, as speaking of events to come; and that *for many days to come*, referring to what was to be accomplished in *times that* were *afar off*.[x] Therefore, though it seems obvious that Adam and Eve

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death in this sense of the word. See Deut. xxi. 22, 23. There were other deaths inflicted by the laws of God; such as stoning with stones till a man died, Levit. xx. 2, 27, &c. Whoever came under the sentence of this, or any other death inflicted by God's law, was as really *accursed of God*, as he that was *hanged on a tree;* but the ignominy of this death was despicable beyond others: it had a shame belonging to it, hard to get over and despise; it was stigmatized, low, and base, beyond other punishments, and therefore had peculiarly this term of reproach annexed to it.

[t] Gen. iii. 15. [u] Ibid.

[x] Ezek. xii. 27. See Dan. xii. 8, 9, 13. x. 14. viii. 26, 27. vii. 28.

might understand, from what was spoken, that the enemy who had hurt them would at length be conquered; yet it does not appear that they were precisely informed who this enemy was, nor what the contest was which should be with him and against him; nor how, or by whom in particular he should be subdued. What had been said in their hearing, concerning the cursed or very low and grovelling nature of the serpent, must have apprized them that they had been much mistaken in their notions of this animal. Whether it caused them to reflect, although they did not before think so, that the serpent did not perhaps speak of himself; but that they had some greater enemy whom they had not seen, nor known, I cannot say; but that our first parents, though their experimental knowledge could as yet be but little, were not of slow parts, but able to turn every thing hinted to them over in their minds, to conceive of it all that a lively imagination would, as far as they could know things, present to them, must, I think, be admitted as unquestionable; and that they henceforward acquitted the serpent of all guilt towards them, seems to me to appear from what I shall presently consider, *viz.* that we have no hints in history, that either they, or their immediate descendants, commenced any particular enmity or hostility against the animals called serpents, any more than against any other animals of the world. But, that Adam and Eve knew the real meaning of what was here said to them, any more than the ancient prophets perfectly understood what was revealed to them, to be by them declared unto the world, is what I see no reason to conclude. Are we to think that Daniel, after he had written down what had been

revealed unto him concerning the *seventy weeks determined upon his people*,[y] could have exactly determined *what manner of time* was here *signified before-hand*; or how that which was *testified*, was to be fulfilled in *the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow*?[z] Or shall we think that David, to whom it had been foreshewn, that *his soul*[a] should not be left *in hell*, neither should God's *holy one see corruption*, could have hence been able to declare, that Jesus Christ, or even any one of his (David's) descendants, should be dead and buried, and on the third day be raised from the dead? Or that even Moses, who recorded the words, which God had thus spoken to our first parents; and afterwards that in *Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed*;[b] and afterwards, that Shiloh should come *of the tribe of Judah*;[c] and further, that God would give the *Israelites a prophet from among* their *brethren like unto* him, that they should *hear him*;[d] can we say, that Moses could have explained, as St. Paul was able afterwards to shew, who the particular person was, that was to be this *seed of the woman*; *the seed of Abraham*; *the Shiloh*; *the prophet who was to come*; and in what[e] particular manner all that had been foretold should in him be fulfilled? Prophecy was designed to point before-hand to something which was afterwards more fully to be revealed; to create in those to whom it was given, an expectation of things

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[y] Dan. ix. 24—27. [z] 1 Pet. i. 11. [a] Psal. xvi. 10. Acts ii. 25—35. [b] Gen. xxii. 18. [c] Gen. xlvii. 10. [d] Deut. xviii. 15. [e] Gal. iii. 14—16.

not yet fully explained to them; which things were, in the progress of ages, to be further added to and opened, as God should think fit more and more to shew the contents of them; until, when the time was come that the whole was fulfilled, they unto whom the things foretold were accomplished, might look back, and by seeing from the beginning what had been said, before any one but God knew how these things should so be; might hereby have *a surer word*,[f] than could possibly have been contrived for *cunningly devised fables*, to shew them, that the things thus foretold, and thus accomplished, were of God. Such is that series of promises or predictions begun in the words now spoken by God to our first parents; enlarged, and more specified as to their meaning by some farther prophecies given in after ages; until, at the end of about 4000 years, a person appeared, in whose life and death, resurrection and glory, the whole of what had been foretold, was clearly seen to be truly and literally fulfilled; but yet so foretold and so fulfilled, that no one, before the things were come to pass, ever so understood the prophecies, as to think, that thus would be the event of them. Whereby it was the more demonstrably proved, that the whole was God's work; for, as he only could declare *the end from the beginning*,[g] mark out truly before-hand the

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[f] 2 Pet. i. 19.

[g] *Remember the former things of old, for I am God, and there is none else; I am God, and there is none like me; declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done: saying, my counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.* Isaiah xlvi. 9, 10.

traces of his own deep counsels and designs; so what had been foretold by him, was always so imperfectly understood, as to be looked for by men quite otherwise than it came to pass: and herein it became evident, when it was come to pass, that no human contrivance was in the fulfilling it, any more than in the foretelling it; for had there been human contrivance in it, it would have been brought about to have been fulfilled in quite another manner. The words therefore before us, now spoken by God, are, as a most excellently able and learned prelate has pointed out to us,[h] the first of "*a chain* of prophecies reaching through several thousand years, manifestly subservient to, and gradually opening, one and the same administration of Providence from beginning to end;" of which our first parents knew no more, than to think that they literally had hopes herein, so far seen by them as to give them reason to trust and depend upon God; but not enough explained to them, to shew what the particular things were which they were to hope for, or how or when they were to be accomplished.

II. But did our first parents apprehend that any thing here said concerned or related to the animal, to the serpent from whose mouth the guile came, which deceived them? I answer; I think they did not. Had Adam and Eve understood God as meaning, that there should be continual war between mankind and the serpents; that the serpents should bite the heels of men, and that

[h] Bishop Sherlock's Preface to the third edition of the Use and Intent of Prophecy.

men should crush and bruise to pieces the heads of serpents, would not ancient history have given some account of the endeavours of mankind, in the first ages, to destroy these their enemies? It is observable, that God does not speak of the serpent as a creature of enormous size, but rather as so contemptible, that Adam could have no reason to be afraid of it,[1] but might have easily perhaps stamped it under his feet. How then came it to pass, that neither Adam nor Eve, if they understood that they were to destroy serpents, did instantly bruise the head of this their enemy? Or, if it may be said, having no weapons, they might be afraid he should

[1] We are told by heathen writers of serpents of a most incredible size. Pliny relates from Livy, that when Regulus commanded the Roman forces in Africa, he was infested by a serpent one hundred and twenty feet long, and so invulnerable, its scales being impenetrable, and its breath so infectious, that he was forced to use the military engines, which they used against towers and the walls of towns, before they could subdue it; and says, the skin of it was hung up at Rome, and remained there until the war with Numantia, *i. e.* about one hundred years. Vide Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. c. 14. Liv. Hist. lib. 18. c. 15, 16. And the same naturalist speaks of serpents twenty cubits long in other places. Vide Nat. Hist. lib. 31. c. 2. And of so large a size, as to draw away oxen and stags whole. Vide 1. 18. Whether these accounts did not exceed what was strictly the truth, ought to be considered. The Scriptures hint, that serpents in Moses' time had been of a more common measure, such as might lie in the way and bite the heels of horses, Gen. xlix. 17. And we have no reason to suppose the serpent that spake to Eve to have been larger.

bruise their heel, is it not wonderful that they should never afterwards contrive how to afflict this hostile creature? and that it did not become the heroism of the first generations of the world to commence a sort of religious war against these devoted animals, to extirpate the whole breed of them from off the face of the earth? In after ages, and in countries where the clearing them of serpents was thought a publick good, exploits of this kind had their glory:

——diram qui contudit hydram. HOR.

The subduing a serpent was one of the labours of Hercules:[k] nay, he was said to have killed two serpents in his very cradle:[l] a story which implies, that the killing serpents was at this time of such publick utility, and therefore so highly estimated, that no greater thing could be said of this hero, to give high expectations of his future achievements, or to evince his origin to be more than mortal. Can we then think, in the first world, of which the history, though very short, is not so imperfect, but that the inventors of useful arts,[m] of the entertainments of life,[n] as well as the names of those who were eminent for religion, are come down to us;[o] if one great instance of performing what God had declared, had consisted in destroying serpents, we should not have had the name of some one worthy at least, who had exerted himself in this warfare? But in truth the animals called serpents were as yet little in size, contemp-

[k] Appollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. Mart. Ep. lib. ix. ep. 104.
[l] Appollodor. ubi sup.
[m] Gen. iv. 20, 22.
[n] Ver. 21.
[o] Ver. 26.

tible in figure, not understood to be marked out by God, for men to make it their employment to destroy them; and accordingly nothing more is told us, of the serpent's having to do with man, or man with the serpent, until the flood came, and took away man and beast from off the earth. The serpent which tempted Eve, is reckoned amongst the *beasts of the field*, and not a water animal;[p] and therefore we may suppose that his kind

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[p] Gen. iii. 1. The water-snakes are mentioned in all writers: the two serpents related in Virgil to have killed Laocoon, are described as having come over the sea.

Ecce! autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta,
(Horresco referens) immensis Orbibus Angues
Incumbunt Pelago pariterque ad littora tendunt;
Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta jubæque
Sanguineæ exuperant undas: pars cætera pontum
Pone legit, sinuatque immensa volumine terga:
Fit sonitus spumante salo: jamque arva tenebant:
Ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni
Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.

VIRG. Æneid, lib. 2.

The annotators observe, that the Latins called the water-snakes, *angues;* the land-snakes, *serpentes;* and when these animals were consecrated and in temples, *dracones.* Angues aquarum sunt, serpentes terrarum, templorum dracones. And so Virgil stiles these very serpents when they were said to be hid at the feet of Pallas,

At gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
Effugiunt, sævæque petunt Tritonidis arcem,
Sub pedibusque deæ clypeique sub orbe leguntur.

Id. ibid. ver. 225.

had been preserved in the ark, and accordingly had come to Noah[q] as innocuous to men, and had been as well received and dismissed by him as any other living creature of the world: so that I do not see the least ground to imagine that Adam apprehended, in what God now said, any thing was intimated, that there should subsist between men and serpents a perpetual enmity, to be always biting and destroying one another.

If we look into the ages after the flood, we find that serpents were, before Moses' days, becoming noxious animals;[r] and men, when Moses lived, were in general afraid of them.[s] There might ere this time be poisonous juices in many of the herbs and plants which grew

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The Hebrews had a different word for serpents of the water, from that which they used for the land kind. The river serpent they called תנין [tennin]. Thus, when Moses' rod was turned into a serpent before Pharaoh, it was turned לתנין [letennin] into a *water-snake*, as Pharaoh probably was now where he usually went in the morning, to the river. But the serpent which had tempted Eve was not a *tennin*, but a *nachash*, a land serpent. It may perhaps be observed, that the serpent called *tennin* is also called *nachash*. See Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12. To which it may be replied, that *nachash* was the first general word used for a serpent, before the different kinds of them were distinguished: therefore the water-kinds may be sometimes called by this general name; but it will not follow, that where *nachash* is used above, we should think a water-snake intended. As in English, though we may say a water-snake is a snake; yet if we should name a snake or serpent only, we would not be thought to mean a water-snake.

[q] Gen. vi. 20. vii. 9. [r] Gen. xlix. 17. [s] Exod. iv. 3.

on the earth. The same alteration[t] of the world, which began from the flood, and conduced to the shortening the lives of men, might cause such an alteration in many herbs, that men might not perhaps now find every green herb and tree as wholesome, as they had found all in the first world: and the nourishment of some in the concoction of some animals, might breed in them, what to man and other creatures might be malignant poison. At the going out from the ark, none of the living creatures of the world appear to have been hurtful or destructive to man. But time produced in many a ferocity, and in others, other qualities, which made them terrible; and serpents were in general such objects of terror in Moses' days, that when the miracle which God gave him to assure him, that he sent him to Egypt, took effect; Moses, we read, when he saw his rod turned into a serpent, *fled from before it.*[u] But, notwithstanding any thing that may be said of men's natural fears, from their apprehensions of the venom of serpents, a thought of God's having ever given any order in particular for man to destroy serpents, seems to be a mere modern imagination. We can find no traces of such a sentiment in all antiquity; rather, the sages of the early times, who searched into antiquity, and added to it what they thought the religion of nature,[x] to be above the common notions of the vulgar,

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[t] See Connect. vol. i. b. i. [u] Exod. iv. 3.

[x] See Connect. vol. iii. b. xi. The sentiments that led them to their notions of the divinity of the serpents, are said to be, πνευματικωτατον το ζωον παλαι των ἑρπετων καὶ πυρωδες—παριδοθη,

held serpents in high honour, had introduced them into their temples,[y] delineated their figures in their ancient tables and formalities of worship;[z] and gave many, such as they thought reasons, for thinking them endow-

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παρ' ο καὶ ταχυ· ἀνυπερβλητον διὰ τὴν πνευματου παρεγησι, χωρις ποδων τε καὶ χειρων η αλλου τινος τῶν ἐξωθεν ἐξ ων τα λοιπα ζωα τας κινησεις ποιεῖται· καὶ ποικιλων σχηματων τυπους ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ κατα τὴν πορείαν ἑλικοειδεις εχει τας ὁρμας ἐφ' ὃ βελεται ταχυ· καὶ πολυχρονιωτατον δε ἐστιν, ὡ μονον τῶν ἐκδυομενον το γηρας νεαζειν, αλλα καὶ αυξησιν ἐπιδιχασθαι μείζονα πηφυκε· καὶ ἐπειδαν το ωρισμενον μητρον πληρωση, εἰς ἑαυτον ἀναλισκεται· ως ἐν ταῖς ἱεραις ὁμοιως αὐτος ὁ ταυτου κατεταξε γραφαις. διο καὶ ἐν ιεροις τοῦτο το ζωον καὶ ἐν μυστηριοις συμπαρείληπτὰι. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10. We cannot sufficiently despise the beggarly elements of this philosophy; but yet it ought to be observed, that it was reputed a height of wisdom in its day. A plain demonstration this, what may be the trifles of mere human reasoning, when it has not been enlightened by any better information. But my intention, in the citation above, was to shew, that no notions had traditionally prevailed to intimate that the serpent had been originally a cursed creature, appointed every where for men to destroy; for that the most ancient speculative and more curious enquirers had no bias against theories which might represent them to be representatives of the most high God.

[y] παυλις——ἐφυσιολογησαν ωσπερ προκειται· καὶ τά μεν πρωτα στοιχεια τα δια των οφεων ναους κατασκευασαμενοι ἐν αὐτοις αφιερωσαν, καὶ τυτοις θυσιας καὶ ἑορτας ἐπιτετελων καὶ οργια, θεους τύς μεγιστους νομιζονῖες καὶ ἀρχηγυς των υλων. Id. ibid.

[z] Id. ibid. See the table of *Isis*. Montfauc. Antiq. vol. i. part 2. b. ii. c. 1.

ed with a kind of divine nature.[a] And what is remarkable, they had no notion of the serpent's being the representative of an evil being, in opposition to the good God; for the Egyptians, we are told, reputed the serpent to be an emblem of their god, *Cneph*,[b] by which word they meant the Δημιουργος,[c] we might render it *the workmaster*,[d] or maker of all things. The Phœnicians translated it αγαθον Δαιμονα, *the good deity*,[e] and from their most ancient symbols it may be thought, that they intended to represent in their σχηματα, or mystic figures of the serpent, what some of them called the συνεκλικον;[f] I might render it, the Power by which *all things consist*.

I do not pretend to trace the time of the rise of these heathen superstitions; they being brought out of one country into another. They were thought to have been introduced into Greece by Pherecydes,[g] who was con-

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[a] Vide quæ sup.

[b] Ἀιγυπτιοι Κνηφ ἐτονομαζουσι. Euseb. ubi sup.

[c] τον δημιουργον, ον Κνηφ οι Αιγυπτιοι προσαγορευουσιν. Id. lib. 3. c. 11.

[d] See Wisdom xiii. 1.

[e] Φοινικες δὲ αὐτο ἀγαθον δαιμονα καλουσιν. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10.

[f] Ἔτι μεν οι Ἀιγυπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτης ἐννοιας τὸν κοσμον γραφουσις περιφερη κυκλον ἀεροειδη καὶ πυρωπον χαρασσουσιν, καὶ μεσον τεταμενον οφιν——καὶ ἐστι το παν σχημα ως το παρ ἡμιν Θητα. τὸν μεν κυκλον Κοσμον μηνυουσις τον δὲ μεσον οφιν συνεκλικον τοῦτον αγαθον Δαιμονα σημαινουσις. Id. ibid.

[g] Παρὰ φοινικων δὲ και φερεκυδης λαβων τας αφορμας εθεολογησε περι του παρ αυτῶ λεγομενου Οφιωνεως Θεου και των Ὀφιωνιδων. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10.

temporary with Thales,[h] and did not flourish there earlier than about 1000 years after Moses;[i] but Pherecydes had them from the Phœnicians,[k] and the Phœnicians from the books of the Egyptian Taautus;[l] and, I think, I may represent these notions about the serpent as having been in vogue in Egypt in, and before, Moses' time. For it is much to be observed, that, though Moses, when he first saw his rod turned into a serpent, was terrified and fled from it, until God bade him put forth his hand and take it;[m] yet, when the same rod was, in like manner, turned into a serpent before Pharaoh, and when all the rods of his magicians were turned into serpents likewise, neither Pharaoh nor his magicians appear to have been under any consternation.[n] They knew the arcana of their temples, that serpents were at this time amongst the sacra in their worship, and reputed the representatives, not of a malign, but of their good god. They might therefore think, that

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[h] Pherecydes was thought to have flourished about the fifty-ninth Olympiad, Thales to have died in about the fifty-eighth.

[i] Moses died A. M. 2554. The fifty-ninth Olympiad was about A. M. 3555.

[k] Euseb. ubi sup.

[l] Τααυτος οι Αιγυπτιοι θεον προσαγορευουσι——την μεν εν τῳ Δρακοντος φυσιν και, των Οφεων αυτος ἐξιθιασιν ὁ Τααυτος, και μετ' αυτον αὖθις Φοινικες. Euseb. ubi sup. We are to observe of Δρακων, that a serpent was called *draco* when consecrated, and put into a temple. Vide quæ sup.

[m] Exod. iv. 3, 4.

[n] Ibid. vii. 10—13.

their gods were *come down amongst them*,[o] to support them against the demand made by Moses, and that the wonderful phænomena, before them, portended great assistance and good, but no evil to give them any terror. It ought only to be observed, that when they saw Moses' rod swallow up all the rods of their magicians,[p] they ought hence to have been instructed, in the way of their own speculations, that a power appeared for Moses which literally *executed judgment against the gods of Egypt*,[q] annihilating and destroying the most wonderful appearances they could imagine of their gods, to gainsay what, by Moses, was required of them.

As what I have observed does, I think, hint to us, that there were in the world no notions of serpents antecedent to Moses' writing his history, which can in any wise shew that mankind had any remarkable enmity against, or thought themselves under any command to destroy them; so, I might observe further, from what follows in the books of Moses, that serpents were not, from any thing said by him, devoted to either such odium or destruction; for I should think, if they had been so devoted, it is not likely that God would have appointed a serpent to be set up in the wilderness for the[r] people to look up to, in order to be cured of the plague he had then inflicted upon them; because any other sign, if God had appointed it, would have been

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[o] Thus the men of Lystra, upon seeing a miracle, thought of Barnabus and Paul, according to their superstition, Acts xiv. 11.

[p] Exod. vii. 12.

[q] Ibid. xii. 12.

[r] Numb. xxi.

equally salutary. It does not seem agreeable to any end of a divine dispensation, that a prophet should make the figure of a creature an emblem of health and life, if he had designed that the same prophet should proscribe the whole species of that creature to be abominated and destroyed. But the fact was, the serpent spake to Eve, as the ass did to Balaam, both, as to themselves, ignorantly and without intention; and neither was the one ordered to be honoured for what he said, nor the other to be disgraced and destroyed. It was fit that Adam and Eve should be apprised how mean an animal they had admitted to be the instrument of deceiving them; and God was pleased very emphatically to tell them this in what he said of the serpent, as I have above explained it. It was in no wise reasonable that they should henceforth be employed as killers of serpents; and, agreeably hereto, the words further spoken do in no wise order, nor were, or could be understood by them, to order this service, as will more evidently appear by considering,

III. The true literal meaning of the words, *and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed,* IT *shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise* HIS *heel.* Upon which words I would remark, 1. That nothing is said, which in any wise employed Adam. It was not said, I will put enmity between the man and the woman and thee, and between thy seed and their seed; they shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise their heels. But the enmity was put between the woman only, and the person here spoken of, and between his seed and her seed. Adam was not the woman, nor of the seed of the woman; for the woman

was made out of him; he was made first, and then the woman. So that, whatever the enmity was, we see that Adam was remarkably not made a party to engage in it; an incident, which must have occasioned him to reflect, that the matter here intended, could not be the hating and killing the animal called a serpent; for if that had been designed, a slaughter of the then serpent would have been seen to be what might more likely have been instantly accomplished by Adam, than by Eve and her future posterity.

But I would observe, that, in this particular, there appears plainly what must, with all reasonable thinkers, for ever silence all pretence of reconciling an allegorical interpretation with the real meaning of this scripture. The allegorical interpreters say, that the serpent is the symbol of lust and sensual pleasure;[s] that Adam and Eve's being tempted by the serpent means, that they were drawn away and enticed by their own lusts and appetites; that the fact in truth was, that they were originally formed for a state of happiness and perfection, which they lost and forfeited by following their lusts and passions, in opposition to the will of their Creator.[t] Now if this be the true way of interpreting Moses, it must follow, that the enmity appointed against the serpent means an opposition to the insinuations of sinful appetites, a striving against sin; and the declared event of this contest must be, that our sinful appetites and lusts will often hurt us; but that, if we will press for-

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[s] See Middleton's Essay on the Allegorical and Literal Interpretation, p. 132. [t] See Middleton. Id. ibid. 131.

wards, though in many steps we take, we may sometimes meet defeat, yet in the end we shall capitally wound and subdue them. I promise myself, that no candid allegorist will accuse me of having herein falsified, or injured his system. Herein then is summed up all that is so highly boasted of as rational: but how obvious is it to see in all this, that it does not touch the matter related by Moses? The enmity declared by Moses to be put, was, I observed, such, that no part of it was assigned to Adam: Eve only, and her seed, were the parties in this warfare: and shall we now say, that nothing more was intended, than the duty of striving against and conquering sinful appetites? Was Adam then, after the fall, to have no such appetites as well as Eve, and all who were to be born of her? or was he to have no struggle against such like passions with other men? Was he to be given up to a reprobate mind, to do whatever he should lust? This I take to be a plain fact; which all the art and subtlety of our pretended reasoners will never be able to reconcile and clear up. To this therefore I would earnestly call the reader's strictest attention: and would beg to have this one point taken into the severest examination; for I must think, if it be found to be as I have represented, the allegory must here meet its bane. It will be so clearly evident, that there is something in the text before us, which the allegorical interpretation cannot reach, that no one, who is truly ingenuous, will any more contend for it.

2. But we ought to observe, that in the words here related by Moses, as having been heard from God; it was not said, that mankind and serpents should have a

general enmity against each other; but the Hebrew words, if truly interpreted, denote, that some one person should descend from the woman, who should capitally conquer and subdue the great enemy of mankind. If I were forced to allow, that we have now so far lost the perfect understanding of the idiom of the Hebrew tongue, as not to see that the words here used by Moses must carry this restrictive sense; yet from the Septuagint version of the place it appears, that when that translation was made, the Hebrew words were known to have that meaning.[u] The Septuagint version of the passage is thus: Καὶ ἐχθραν θησω ανα μεσον σου καὶ ανα μεσον της γυναικος, καὶ ανα μεσον του σπερματος σου καὶ ανα μεσον του σπερματος αυτης. ΑΥΤΟΣ σου τηρησει κεφαλην καὶ συ τηρησεις αυτου Πτερναν· *i. e. And I will put enmity between thee and between the woman, and between thy seed, and between the seed of her;* HE *shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* The point to be observed in this translation is; that it does not say IT shall bruise thy head, the pronoun does not refer to the word seed; but it is HE *shall bruise*, the pronoun being personal, and masculine, not agreeing with the word σπερμα, seed, which is neuter; but denoting some one person to be the seed, and that he should bruise the head of the enemy here spoken of. Had the Greek interpreters thought the text meant that the woman's seed or offspring in general were here intend-

[u] The Septuagint translation of the books of Moses was made about 277 years before Christ, about A. M. 3727. See Archbishop Usher's Annals. Prideaux's Connect. part ii. book i.

sight, appear so remarkably to point out what the Greek version clearly intimates; for, in the Hebrew, the word *(zeraa) seed*, is masculine, not neuter, as the word σπερμα in the Greek; therefore the pronoun *hua*, in the Hebrew, does not, like αυτος in the Greek, directly vary in gender from the noun to which it should be referred. But we should here consider that the Hebrew pronoun *hua*, is *specifically* restrictive; to intimate what is said to belong to some one person, or one thing; and thus the Septuagint took the place as meaning, *not of seeds, as of many*, but of *one*.

I do not say that the pronoun *hua*, in Hebrew, may never be used, where in Greek, or in other languages, we would use a neutral pronoun, IT in English, *illud* in Latin, or αυτο in Greek; but, I think, where *hua* is used, it naturally speaks the thing intended in the singular number, and not referring to a noun of multitude as plural. Thus, Leviticus x. 3. Hua asher dibber Jehovah,[a] we say, *this is that the Lord spake*, which, I think, is deficient of the true emphasis expressed in the Hebrew. The words were designed to shew the error of Nadab and Abihu's offering *strange fire, which the Lord commanded them not*, i. e. had not commanded them; and they should be translated, this is the one thing, *or* the thing itself which the Lord spake. The words were intended to lay down one special or specific rule, which was the principle in all the laws given; they strictly required one thing only, namely, nothing to be done, but what God directed, to sanctify HIM, and him only, in them that come nigh him.[b] We may, I think,

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[a] הוא אשר דבר יהוה.

[b] Levit. x. 9. as above.

put in *itself*, *him* or *herself*, in the singular number where *hua* is used; and thus in the text before us, *hua jesuphka rosh* cannot mean it, her seed shall bruise thee in the head, taking the word seed as a noun of multitude to intend many; for in such case the Hebrew language would have been, they shall bruise thee in the head; but *hua jesuphka*, if we rightly translate the Hebrew, must be *he himself*, intending one person and no more. Thus the translators of the Septuagint rendered the place, without inspiration, and before any prophet or apostle had directed any such interpretation, by being only true masters of the Hebrew tongue, so as not to lose or vary from the precise meaning of a very significant expression in it. But I must still remark, that if I should be judged wrong in all I have here said of the Hebrew expression, the authority of St. Paul will still remain, to give us the true meaning of the place; for, in that the apostle, an inspired writer, informs us, that in the word seed, was intended, *not many*, *but one*, and that one, *Christ*; *God has not left himself without a witness* to us, what was the intention of the words before us spoken to our first parents.

And if what St. Paul explains to be the meaning of the word spoken to our first parents, was the real intention of God's purpose in them, we must admit, that God, when he caused Adam and Eve to hear the words from him, caused them so far to know the intention of the words spoken, as not to imagine from them, that he designed an idle and insignificant war, between Eve, and her children, and the serpents; but he promised them *hua*, *him*, one person of her seed, although he did not

tell them who that one person was, who was to be the *captain of our salvation*,[c] the conqueror here foretold to subdue him, who had deceived them.

And this was all they could possibly as yet know of this matter, no more than this being, as I have said, told them: Who the particular person promised was; what the warfare he should accomplish; who the very enemy was, to be conquered by him; when, and where, and in what manner he should appear; none of these things can be said to have been discovered to them: and therefore, as Joseph and Mary, when our Saviour, upon coming home with them from the temple, said to them, *Wist ye not that I must be about my father's business? understood not the saying which he spake unto them; but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart*;[d] so our first parents did not understand the whole meaning of what God here intended; but they carefully treasured up the words in their hearts; formed hopes from them, the extent of which they could not as yet determine. They preserved the words, to have their children know them; to the intent that they also might shew their children the same, that future generations might see the whole of what God had spoken, and observe what might farther arise in fulfilling it.

We who live in these last days of the world, unto whom, in the gospel, the kingdom of God is come, may plainly see what that purpose of God is, which was *hid from ages, from the foundation of the world*: but is now *made* more *manifest*.[e] We may see *Jesus*

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[c] Heb. ii. 10. [d] Luke ii. 49, 50. [e] See Colloss. i. 26.

Christ, a man ordained of God,[f] of *the seed of the woman*, most literally speaking, as born of a virgin;[g] descended from David,[h] who was of *the seed of Abraham*,[i] a descendant of our first parents: and may know of this one person, that he is to conquer *that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world*;[k] of whom we may consider the words as coming, which were spoken by the serpent to Eve; though our first parents saw him not, neither understood that they came from him. We may further understand, that by the power of Christ, this, the great enemy of mankind, will be cast down;[l] whereby will finally be accomplished in a most literal and true sense, all that the text before us first intimated, and all that has been since said pursuant thereto, either by immediate revelation from God himself, or by the mouth of all his prophets, since the world began.

This, I think, is a true consideration of the words I have endeavoured to explain. And, in the whole of what I have gone through, as in what is to follow, I shall, I hope, be allowed to stand clear of what the objectors impute to all who write upon this subject. I do not sometimes adhere to a literal narration, and sometimes have recourse to allegory, forced to allow some

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[f] Acts xvii. 31.

[g] Isaiah vii. 14. Matth. i. 18, 24, 25. Luke i. 34, 35.

[h] St. Luke, as he tells us, chap. ii. 4. that *Joseph was of the house and lineage of David*; so also, chap. i. 27. informs us, that the virgin Mary also was a descendant from David.

[i] See Matth. i. [k] Rev. xii. 9. xx. 10. [l] Ibid.

part of what was said or done, not to have been as it is historically told us: but I endeavour to shew, that there is no allegory in the whole, or in any part of Moses' relation: and that a material part of what he relates; that important part, in which the allegorist must absolutely lose his point, if he cannot make it out to be allegory, cannot possibly agree to an allegorical interpretation at all. I contend, that a real, a natural serpent, as truly spake to Eve, as a real ass spake to Balaam;[m] but I apprehend, from what we may learn from other scriptures, and from considering the nature of the thing, we may know, that neither the ass nor the serpent spake of[n] themselves; neither knew they what the words were

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[m] Numb. xxii. That the ass speaking to Balaam was a real fact, and not a trance, or vision of the prophet; see Conpect. vol. iii. b. xii.

[n] Dr. Burnet trifles most egregiously in this particular: His words are: 'Aiunt nempe, sub hoc serpente latuisse diabolum, vel malum dæmonem, qui hujus animalis ore et organis usus affatus est fœminam voce quasi humana: sed quo teste, quo authore hoc dicitur? Non id præ se fert litera Mosis, cujus illi adeo sunt tenaces. Burnet's Archæol. p. 290. A plain answer to all this is, the letter of Moses says, that the serpent really spake to Eve: this unquestionably was fact: Moses does not say, that he spake of himself, or of any ability of his own, nor does he say the contrary. We see no reason to think our first parents, at first at least, apprehended that he did not speak of himself; but we have many hints from the New Testament, who it was that spake by or through him: will these now conclude, that no voice came literally from the serpent?

which were spoken by them; although our first parents could not know this to be true of the serpent at the time he spake to them. I take the words, contained Gen. iii. 14, 15, to have been literally spoken by the voice of God; that the former part of them were in the way of apostrophe to the serpent, but for the instruction of Adam and Eve; for, that the serpent did not know the words, nor the meaning of them, nor was in any wise affected by them; but that Adam and Eve were herein admonished and informed, how basely they had been deceived, and by hearkening to how abject and contemptible an animal. It will be allowed me, that the invisible agent, whose words the serpent had spoken, was at this time present before God; for, in truth, all persons and all things may, at all times, be present before him, in what manner he pleases; and I take the latter part of what was spoken, the 15th verse, to be an address of the speaker to this wicked spirit, denouncing to him, what should be the doom for which he was reserved; spoken in the hearing of Adam and Eve, though they did not apprehend the full meaning of it; yet, so spoken, as that they must have considered it could not concern the animal they had heard speak; but had a further intention, and was a declaration which they ought to ponder in their hearts, and transmit to their children; and that from this, the first, and from several other prophecies which have followed, more enlarged and more directing, as God has thought fit to give them in the several ages of the world, there has been a sure path laid, to lead *from faith to faith*,* from one re-

* Rom. i. 17.

vealed declaration to another, those unto whom such prophecies have come; so that we and posterity may, if we will carefully attend to the information, have, over and besides all other arguments for the truth of it, what may shew us of the gospel, that it is that one purpose of the wisdom and power of God, which he foretold, and therefore designed from the beginning of the world. In all which, I trust, I do not theologize with those, whose schemes are inconsistent with reason and themselves; but, saying none other things than what reason, fairly considering, must admit to be possible, and revelation warrants to be true. What I offer may be more fit to be impartially considered, than all the speculations of human wisdom, which cannot be truly reconciled with the holy scriptures.

CHAP. XII.

The sentence passed upon Adam and Eve, and the consequences of their transgression, considered.

THE sentence passed upon Eve was, that it should henceforth be specially her duty, to be governed by and obey her husband;[a] that she should bear children,[b]

[a] Gen. iii. 16. [b] Ibid. 1 Tim. ii. 15.

be *the mother of all living*:[c] but have herein a multiplicity of sorrow.[d] Adam henceforth was to find his tillage of the ground a necessary but laborious employment;[e] *in* or *by the sweat of his face, he was to eat his bread.*

It seems natural to think, that whilst there were yet but two persons in the world, a sufficient produce for two only might more easily be obtained from the fruits of the trees, from the shrubs, and from the herbs of the ground. Might not our first parents, notwithstanding it pleased God to have the earth now not so kindly fruitful, but apt to abound in thorns and thistles, unless duly cultivated for a better produce,[f] for some time at least, respecting their diet, find the easy days, which the heathen poets ascribed to their golden age,

> Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis,
> Arbuteos fœtus montanaque fraga legebant,
>
> OVID. Met.

Excluded the garden, wherever they wandered into the adjacent country, may we not suppose that the earth afforded them fruits of divers trees, nuts and berries, grain of all sorts, corn of several kinds, and all sallads; every thing which grew and had seed within itself, being at first created and made to spring out of the earth?[g] and might they not hence gather daily what we may suppose to be no hard and uncomfortable living, with-

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[c] 1 Tim. ii. 20.
[d] Gen. iii. 16.
[e] Ver. 17—19.
[f] Ver. 18.
[g] Gen. i. 12.

out finding a great pressure of want and distress? I answer; we read Moses too hastily, if we do not observe, 1. However our first parents were allowed within the garden to eat of every tree, except one;[h] and the trees of the earth, as well as the herb upon the face of all the earth, were given them for food;[i] yet, upon their expulsion from the garden, their living would be, thenceforth, chiefly of the ground.[k] Are we to think, because God planted or created within that particular spot of ground, which he had distinguished from all others to be called the garden, trees, of whatever perfection he was pleased to give them, that, therefore, all trees were of their full growth, and abounded in their fruits all over the world? Rather, may we not apprehend, that the earth, in many parts, was made only to put forth its shoots, which grew gradually up to their perfection? When Adam and Eve, therefore, were driven out of the garden, fruits of trees, acorns, and great plenty of berries, might be more rare than we may hastily imagine; a point, I think hinted, in that at first the fowls of the air, as well as every beast of the earth, were to live, not so remarkably of the fruit of trees, as of the green herb; distinguished from the trees, and said to grow upon the face of all the earth: it was of a lower growth, nearer to, and more closely covering the ground.[l] 2. But we cannot form an exact theory of the labours of our first parents' lives, because we cannot ascertain how long they lived in their first habitation, before they

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[h] Gen. ii. 16, 17.
[i] Gen. i. 29.
[k] Gen. iii. 17.
[l] Gen. i. 29.

committed the transgression which caused them to be driven from it. We may observe, that one part of their employment in the garden was *leabdah*,[m] *to dress it*:[n] it is the same word which is used, where we are told, that God sent *Adam forth from the garden*, laabad, *to till the ground, from whence he was taken*.[o] Adam was now put out of the garden into the adjacent country, where God created him;[p] his tillage, expressed by the same word as his dressing the garden, seems to have been the same employment, only to be exercised upon a different soil. And if we may suppose that he had been exercised long enough in the garden, to know what the employment was which God had given him in it; we cannot think him quite a novice in what was now to be his labour. Nothing, in truth, confounds us in forming our conceptions concerning our first parents, except thinking that the Fall happened instantly, before they had lived long enough to have some experience of living. Let us only suppose it not so early; but that they might have had some months to observe the herbs of the garden what they liked best to eat, and how they might cultivate them to give them a due growth, and we may suppose them sent forth into the world, with this care, to find places here and there, where there were such produce as they had eaten of; to cultivate and to preserve them; to weed out the thistles which soon began to grow amongst them; to defend and keep them from the cattle; that enough of them

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[m] לעבדה

[n] Gen. ii. 15.

[o] לעבד את־האדמה. Gen. iii. 23.

[p] Ibid.

might be had within such distances as they could go to for the sustenance of their lives. This labour, if duly considered, will be allowed to have been a burden which they had not felt whilst they lived in the garden; and to be sufficient, although at first, before both beasts and cattle, and mankind, were multiplied on the earth, it would not be absolutely too much for them. The first husbandry was no more than gardening;[q] and the grounds most commodious for the early tillage were reputed to be such spots as might be made gardens of herbs;[r] and the easiest and happiest situation for these was accounted such, that a man might water them with the greatest ease;[s] and such spots of ground abounded out of the garden, all along the land of Eden, on the borders of its rivers.[t] Upon one of these, I conceive, Adam bestowed his first pains, and by a diligent care cultivated and preserved in them enough for him and Eve, of what they had often before eaten within the garden. When mankind came to multiply, it would be necessary for them to look for further provision; and before Adam was a hundred and thirty years old, Cain, one of his sons, began improvements in tillage.[u] And

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[q] Antiquitas nihil priùs mirata est quàm——Hortos——Hinc primum agricolæ æstimabantur prisci. Vide Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 19. c. 19. sect. 1—3.

[r] Deut. xi. 10. [s] Ibid. Vide quæ sup.

[t] Felicitas major Babyloniæ, Seleuciæ, Euphrate atque Tigre restagnantibus, quoniam rigandi modus ibi manu temperatur. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 18. c. 47. ad fin.

[u] Adam was 130 years old at the birth of Seth, after the death of Abel. Gen. iv. 25.—v. 3. Abel was killed by Cain

though iron, or brass, was not yet found out, and consequently no instruments for tillage were made of any metals; it requires no extraordinary imagination to conceive, that this early age might, by the means of sharp stones,[x] cut wood, and frame tools of divers sorts, such as would serve well enough to perform their less improved agriculture:

——primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum. VIRG.

Or we may suppose the first men were soon able to contrive how to pull off, or to cut, from young trees such twigs as might be scraped, and reduced to fit the uses they had occasion to make of them; before they knew how in a workman-like manner to take down a whole tree, or wanted, or even had, large trees for greater occasions. Arts and improvements grew, and had their progress: Abel began to be a keeper of sheep; and Jabal, a descendant of Cain, in the sixth descent from him, set up booths or tents in the fields, and began to order herds of greater cattle: and Tubal Cain, about the same

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about the time when each of them brought an offering unto God, from the improvement of their respective employments, not many years, I suppose, before the birth of Seth. Gen. iv. 2—4.

[x] The great use of sharp stones made in the first unimproved ages of all countries, might be collected from all who have written of the American nations. It might likewise be observed, that even the use of them, to cut as with a knife, was not in some improved countries laid aside even in Moses' time. See Exod. iv. 25.

time, found out and instructed others to be artificers in brass and iron.[y] And now we may apprehend that the tillage of the earth received an increase by improvements:

Mox et frumentis labor additus. VIRGIL.

The garden tillage would not afford a sufficient produce for the increased multitudes of mankind; nor could large tracts be managed with the insufficient implements of the most early husbandry; but, as they wanted[z] them, human art and industry contrived better. Thus agriculture grew and increased gradually, as the necessities of mankind called for farther and larger improvements of it. In all this, one observation only is material, that the sentence of God upon man was in all these ages felt enough to keep them sensible of that part of the punishment denounced, which concerned the labour of their lives.[a] Our first parents had not such enlarged wants as their more numerous posterity; but having less knowledge how to supply their lesser demands, sufficient for their day was the labour thereof. As the gracious purpose of God was not instantly to destroy man, but to have him ripened through a mortal life for a happier state, no wants oppressed him, but

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y Gen. iv. 20, 22.

z ——— Tum variæ venere artes. VIRG. Georg. i.

a ——— Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit———
——— curis acuens mortalia corda. Id. ibid.

what he might by industry and labour get the better of.[b] Yet we do not find that any improvements in husbandry made in the first world were so great, but that the most experienced in its later times acknowledged themselves sensible of the heavy and universal burden of their lives; of *the great toil and work of their hands*; before they had a grant to make use of animal food, for a further supply, than what they could reap from the ground.[c]

But the last part of the sentence denounced upon the man, was, that he should *die*; that as he had been taken out of the ground, so he should, after a laborious life, return unto the ground again, and become no better than his primitive dust.[d]

This sentence, we may observe, is not so particularly repeated against Eve, as against the man. But as all experience testifies that the woman is in no wise exempted from death, it must be remarked, that enough was said in the original denunciation of death,[e] as well as acknowledged by Eve herself,[f] to shew, that having transgressed, and the sentence of death against such transgression being in no wise reversed, it could not be supposed, that she could think it should not proceed against her. But there appears an evident reason, why the sentence of death should be thus repeated, and, as it were, re-established against Adam. He had thought,

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[b] ——— Labor omnia vincit
Improbus, et duris urgens in rebus egestas. VIRG. Georg. i.

[c] Gen. v. 29.

[d] Gen. iii. 19.

[e] Gen. ii. 17.

[f] Gen. iii. 3.

and offered it as a mitigation of his fault, that he was not the first in transgression; for that the woman had misled him to eat:[g] God, therefore, denounced more particularly to him, that he should not escape the punishment denounced against what he had done; to tell him, that his plea was no excuse; for that,[h] although he had been misled by hearkening unto the voice of his wife; yet, as he had done what had been commanded not to be done, he also should surely die.

It hath been thought by some, that the death declared against the sin of our first parents, ought, according to the plain meaning of the words in which it was denounced, to have proceeded to an immediate execution. *In the day that they ate of* the tree, they were *surely to die*:[i] Can it be said with any propriety, that when Adam died *nine*[k] *hundred and thirty years* afterwards, that he died *in the day that he ate* of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil? This is a cavil too trifling to want confutation; for every one, who reads the Hebrew Bible, must see a manifest difference between the general expression *beyom*,[l] *in the day*, and *beyom hazeth*,[m] *in that very day*, *beyom hahua*, *in the same day*.[n] Had either of the latter expressions been

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[g] Gen. iii. 12. [h] It may be observed, that the particle *ki* may be even here rendered not *because*, but more elegantly *although*, as I have before observed it must be sometimes translated. Vide quæ sup.

[i] Gen. ii. 17. [k] Gen. v. 5.

[l] ביום. Gen. ii. 17. [m] ביום הזה. Gen. vii. 11.

[n] ביום ההוא. Gen. xv. 18. See Gen. xvii. 23, 26. Exod. v. 6. xii. 1. Levit. xxiii. 29. Isaiah vii. 20. et in aliis ubique.

used in the seventeenth verse of the second chapter of Genesis, it might have signified, that in the very day of their eating, they should, without further delay, have been put to death: but the general expression, *in the day*, may very obviously claim to have a larger signification, and intend no more, than that from the time of their transgression they should become mortal; have in themselves *the sentence of death*,[o] sure to take effect and be executed in its time, which He who made them would appoint.

It was now determined, that they should inevitably die; but the instant, hour, or day when, was still left in God's power; and we may easily apprehend great and wise reasons why God was not pleased to bring our first parents, and their immediate descendants, to a more early dissolution. God in no wise made man for nought;[p] and although he *made not death* for us,[q] but man sought it in the error of his life,[r] yet herein God's abundant goodness has provided for us. It could not be consistent with the liberty of reason, and the freedom of our natures, that he should absolutely force upon us either wisdom or virtue. Being such creatures as he intended, it was more suitable for us to be admitted to grow up, if we would, as our faculties were capable of improvement in both, under the universal influence of his Spirit, in and by which, agreeably to their respective natures, all things *are, and do consist*;[s] and conse-

[o] 2 Cor. i. 9. [p] Psalm lxxxix. 47. [q] Wisdom i. 13. [r] Ver. 12. [s] See and consider John i. 9. Job xxxii. 8. 2 Cor. iii. 5. Coloss. i. 17.

quently time would be necessary for our increasing in all knowledge as well as virtue. What I shall here offer, shall chiefly concern the former.

We have now, indeed, lives but as a shadow, short as a dream, in comparison of the duration of the first men; but we have much light from the experience of ages; all the knowledge we want for life, is not so far from us as it was from them, who lived in the beginning. Had our first parents, and their immediate descendants, come to decline as precipitately as we do; their knowledge of life would have been cut down too fast, for any shoots to be made which might yield a produce of arts and sciences necessary for the improvement of the world. Therefore, if we duly think of mankind, what we came from, and how we are come up to what we now are; we may see, respecting our present life, that it is long enough, ordinarily speaking, for what is to be our work in the world;[t] and also that the early ages must have required a more extended period, for human attainments to be gradually opened and displayed; that man, as far as he was made capable, if he should have time to come up to it, might not absolutely be cut off from, in not being allowed a sufficient term to attain it. The complaint, that life is not long enough for man to reap all the fruits[u] of his labours under the sun, might be as sensibly felt by our earliest forefathers, as it is by us. They lived, as I may say, nearer the ground: their prospects were not so elevated, (things

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[t] See Sherlock upon Death, c. 3. §. 2.

[u] We commonly say, "Ars longa, vita brevis."

not having been tried for common use and benefit,) as our sight of things are. The schools of literature, or the shops of artificers, can at once put us, even in our younger years, upon a progress in science above what they could come near to in all their centuries; and excepting, that if they would *fear God, and keep his commandments*, they had herein all that they wanted for a life to come; and we in all our attainments, more than this, have nothing worthy to be compared with it; they must have felt concerning their life, when over, though they did not feel it so soon as we do, that, in comparison of what they might have hoped from it, *few*, after all, *and evil*, were *the days of their pilgrimage*.[x] A pilgrimage it was, which, however long we may think it, in counting over *the days of the years* of it, unquestionably seemed to them, when they had passed through it, but *as a tale that* was *told*; and it brake off, at last, short of that human perfection, which they might perceive was far more extensive than what they had attained; and that had their lives been shorter, they would not have had room to lay the foundation for what God intended they should contribute to human science, and the improvement of the world.

In the day that our first parents ate of the tree, they died, or became mortal. It is frivolously inquired by

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[x] Jacob said this of his days, when he was one hundred and thirty years old: Gen. xlvii. 9. And can we think, that if he had lived to the days of the years of the life of his progenitors, he would have found in human life, to use Tully's language, the *quod est diu?* CIC. de Senectute.

some, whether the food of the tree was not of a deadly or poisonous nature; deceitful to the eye; appearing to be good food,[y] but inwardly a

—— fallax herba veneni VIRG.[z]

treacherously full of those malignant juices, which would have a natural effect to cause mortality? I

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[y] Gen. iii. 6. [z] The epithet, *fallax*, here used by Virgil, is, I think, peculiar. I do not remember any herb described by the naturalists as being remarkably tempting to the eye or taste, and inwardly a treacherous and deceitful poison; yet this seems the intention of Virgil's epithet. Mr. Pope well enough calls it the herb that conceals poison. See the notes on his Eclogue, Messiah. Had he had a word which would have hinted that the herb had been tempting, to induce men to be deceived and poisoned, he had more fully come up to Virgil's expression. The annotators upon Virgil say, "*Fallax herba*, quia mortales fallaciter iis utuntur." I do not see the spirit of Virgil's poetry in this explication. It rather creeps to human artifice in the use of the medicine, to represent the deceit of it, than it gives a lively hint, that the herb itself had an innate quality, both to hurt and to tempt to deceit and ruin, those who should be inclined to use it. The learned generally suppose that Virgil wrote his Pollio upon hints taken from some prophetic poems among the Romans, which had originally been formed from some sentiments taken out of the Jewish scriptures. And as Virgil introduces the serpent in the same line, *occidet et serpens et fallax herba veneni;* if it may be supposed that any fragment or sacred book of the heathens had hinted any thing of a serpent's having deceived mankind, by eating what he had offered to them; or if Virgil had, by

should rather think, that, as yet, every thing which God had made was intrinsically good;[a] that there was nothing naturally nocent and baleful; nothing that would hurt or destroy;[b] and the mortality of man is in no wise hinted by Moses, as being the natural event of his having eaten of the tree. He rather suggests, that the frame of man would of course not be eternal, unless God was pleased further to make it so enduring. *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return*,[c] was the declaration now made to Adam. Undoubtedly He who *upholdeth all things by the word of his power*; *in whom we live, move, and have our being*, and *by* whom *all things consist*;[d] could have spoken the word, and the *mortal* of our first parents would have *put on immortality*; of which he gave them a sign, in the appointment of the *tree of life*.[e] But this word was not as yet spoken; for they had not yet, under the direction of it,

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any search after the notions of the Jewish literature, formed any thought of such an ancient sentiment, he may be conceived very poetically to have thence written his *fallax herba veneni*.

[a] Gen. i. 31. [b] Things were, I apprehend, at first universally innocuous; as the prophetic writings, and best comments upon them, (see Isaiah ii. 4.—xi. 6—9. lxv. 25, &c.) hint they will in their time be restored to be; of which happy state of things to come, Virgil had collected many sentiments almost verbatim, and thought them an ornament to his poem. See Pope's notes on his Messiah: and, more particularly, Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity.

[c] Gen. iii. 19. [d] Heb. i. 3. Acts xvii. 28. Col. i. 17. [e] Gen. ii. 9.

taken and eaten of the tree of life to live for ever;[f] and this not being done, God was now pleased to prevent their doi[illegible]. Accordingly, they were henceforward to have [illegible] *clay*, whose foundations were but *dust*, stand only until time would moulder them, and bring them by a gradual decay down again to the ground.

Now this, rightly understood, must instruct us to say likewise, concerning the *tree of life* also, that it could have no natural effect, to give eternal life to those who should eat of it. There could be no such power in it by nature. God *only hath immortality*,[h] and he can give *to have life in himself*, to whomsoever, to whatsoever, and in what manner soever, he will. If he had appointed that our first parents should, whenever he commanded it, have taken and eaten of a particular tree, and from thenceforth be immortal; the command must be rationally understood, as we understand our eating bread and drinking wine in our sacrament, in order to be *partakers of the body and blood of Christ*.[i] The outward action would profit nothing,[k] were it not

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[f] Gen. iii. 22. [g] Ibid. 23, 24. [h] 1 Tim. vi. 16.

[i] See Common Prayer Communion Office. John vi. 51—58.

[k] *The flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life:* John vi. 63. These words of our Saviour do, I think, plainly hint to us, that the notion of a transubstantiated body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as the papists hold, is a fancy, not only groundless, but in itself insignificant and vain; for, that as the words our Saviour spake, the commandment he gave was not meant thus grossly, but intended in a spiritual sense, the flesh would

the commandment of God. But the doing, with a faithful heart, what God has expressly commanded, as a memorial, and in acknowledgment [illegible] receive the benefits we hope for, not as [illegible]ing [illegible] ourselves, but as they in truth are the gift of God; may be both a reason, and an assurance, that they shall be given us according to our believing and doing his word. And herein we may see, why man having forfeited the hope of immortality, of which he was to have been made a partaker, in eating of the tree of life; the liberty to eat of that tree was now denied him. We cannot be so absurd as to imagine, that if Adam and Eve, as soon as they had eaten of the forbidden tree, before God had prevented them, had taken also and eaten of the tree of life; they would thereby have defeated the purpose of God, and, notwithstanding what God had denounced, would have escaped death, by having eaten of it: the text of Moses neither speaks nor hints any such thing.

The words of Moses are: *And now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, (vechai leolam).*[l] Moses does not here use the verb *vachayah*, which would be rightly rendered, *and live*, as we translate *vechal*,[m] *and eat*; but the words used by Moses, are the particle *ve* and the participle *chai*. Now *ve*, in many passages of scripture, signifies, not *and*, but *as*,

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profit nothing. The eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ, really, in his flesh, if they could do it, not being what he commanded, would be of no moment at all.

[l] וחי [m] ואכל

quasi, or *sicut*, in Latin;[n] and *ve chai*, strictly rendered, signifies, *as living:* and the expression of Moses, rightly translated, is, *and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life as one living*, i. e. *as if he were one who was to live for ever*. The sense of the place, thus rendered, is clear and reasonable, free from those trifling insinuations which might otherwise be deduced from it. It was not fit that God should leave our first parents the use of the sign of immortality, when the thing signified was taken from them; therefore, he now ordered them to remove out of the garden, *and placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life*,[o] to deter and prevent their approach to eat. God now gave them a visible evidence, such as he afterwards shewed the Jews in the holy place of Sinai,[p] that he was greater to be feared, than it had as yet entered their poor imagination to conceive; that he had hosts in heaven to execute his word; angels that were *his ministers and a flame of fire*.[q]

The facts we have considered, can, I think, want no farther examination. There are, undoubtedly, other enquiries, which may be started. It may be asked, why, or how came it to pass, that the all-good and all-

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[n] See 1 Sam. xii. 15. 2 Sam. xv. 24. et in al. loc. Noldius in partic. ١ 62.

[o] Gen. v. 24. [p] Exod. xix. 16—18. Psal. lxviii. 17.

[q] Heb. i. 7.

merciful God, did not admit our first parents to mercy; to repent and be forgiven, especially if they should sin no more in the like manner; but become thenceforth absolutely obedient to his word? to be restored to his favour; to have, without dying, eternal life? Would not this have more clearly answered our reasonable apprehension, concerning the nature of the goodness of God, than that he should purpose to allot us to go through a life of many sins, and much original and acquired infirmity; at last, indeed, to have a way through death, unto this immortality?[r] I answer, an inspired writer has suggested an answer to this query: *If*, says he, *we believe not, yet he abideth faithful; he cannot deny himself.*[s] If God had denounced that man should die, unless he would keep the commandment which had been enjoined him, it could not be, that he, *for whom it is impossible to lie*,[t] should, after our first parents had herein transgressed, still admit them not to know that death, which he had most expressly declared against such transgression. To this we may unquestionably add further; that if it had not been most fit, in the reason and nature of things, that man now should die, the unerring goodness and wisdom of God would not have threatened nor appointed this punishment; which, I think, is suggested by Moses: *behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest——he live for ever.*[u] The meaning of the words will, I dare say, by none be thought, that the man, by eating the forbidden tree, was actually become wise as

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[r] Matth. xxv. 34.
[s] 2 Tim. ii. 13.
[t] Heb. vi. 18.
[u] Gen. iii. 22.

God is wise; knowing, as God is knowing. This, in fact, was not true; and, in the nature of the thing, was impossible. But they point out for our consideration, that the man, whom God had made so that he ought to be kept *in the hand of God's counsel*, had now taken upon him to be guided, contrary to God's directions, by his own. The creature was not made intrinsically all-wise, not endowed with a beam of unerring wisdom, not capable of being to himself a steady dictator in every thing that was right, for the guidance of his life.[x] The creature, able indeed to reason, but liable often to *reason not aright*,[y] had now set himself up to judge, without dependance upon what God had said or should say to him, what should be his good and what his evil: *and now, lest---he live for ever---*. The point, here intimated, seems to be, whether it could be meet, that this creature, now subject to vanity, should be indulged with a *peccant immortality?* And here, how ought we to consider, that to

Snatch from God's hand the balance——

to venture to define, contrary to what is, what we may think might better have been his dispensations to his creatures; to

Rejudge his justice, be the God of God, POPE.

is a most blind employment; rather examining, what is

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[x] Quartus gradus et altissimus eorum, qui naturâ boni sapientesque gignuntur, quibus a principio innascitur ratio, recta constansque quæ supra hominem putanda est, Deoque tribuenda. Cic. de Nat. Deor. ubi sup.

[y] Wisdom ii. 1.

is appointed, such way would have been given to us. But since this is the way, and we can prove from the scriptures, that we may, if we will, through this dispensation of God toward us, come at length to an eternal life;[b] hence we rightly conclude, that although *it doth not yet appear what we shall be*,[c] nor how every particular of God's appointments doth conspire to connect and make up the one universal design of Him, *of whom the whole family of* the heavens and the *earth is named:*[d] yet nothing can be more commendable in us, than to believe and confess, that both *great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty!* and *just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints.*[e]

A consequence of the Fall, I apprehend, must have been, that a depravity of the mind of man gradually arose, and was occasioned by it. *God*, at first, *made man upright*, yashar, *not inclined to any evil*;[f] but man was, when thus upright, to be immortal.[g] After the

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[b] As in matters of speculation and philosophical enquiry, the only judge of what is right or wrong, is reason and experience; so, in matters either of human testimony or divine revelation, the only certain rule of truth is the testimony of the revelation itself. Clark's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, Introduction.

[c] 1 John iii. 2.

[d] Ephes. iii. 15.

——Man, who here seems principal alone,
Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal,
'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole. POPE.

[e] Rev. xv. 3. [f] Sup. 66, &c. [g] Vide quæ sup.

transgression, our first parents were to die: they had now, in the body, what would by degrees bring them to decline, and, in the end, effect their dissolution; and a body become thus *corruptible, presseth down the soul:*[h]

——————— prægravat unà
Atque affigit humo divinam particulam auræ. HOR.

It will introduce affections grosser and less pure, irregular and distempered; other than they would have known, had they never been incumbered with such a decaying tabernacle. The sages of the heathen world would readily have admitted this truth. St. Paul himself, in describing the state of the unregenerate man, speaking in his person, saith, *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not; but the evil which I would not, that I do.*[i] This is hardly more express than Plato;[k] who says, 'As long as we have the body, and our soul is intermixed with such an evil, we shall never satisfactorily possess ourselves even of what we desire.' The philosopher, we see, and others who followed him, would readily have allowed, that it is of the utmost consequence to a divine spirit, whether it be joined to a mortal or an immortal

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[h] Wisdom ix. 15. [i] Rom. vii. 18, 19.

[k] ἑως ἂν το σωμα εχωμεν, καὶ ξυμπεφυρμενη ἡ ἡμων ἡ ψυχη μετὰ τοῦ τοιαυτου κακου, ὐ μηποτε κτησωμεθα ἱκανως ὦ ἐπιθυμουμεν. Plat. in Phæd.

body.[l] Our first parents might have had *in the heart, in that which was not corruptible*,[m] what might render them superior in affections and inclinations, to what naturally became their appetites, when a *bondage of corruption* began to work in them, a nature below the *liberty of the sons of God*.[n] We may, herein, easily reconcile the scriptures with true philosophy; for the body and the soul are so intimately joined in our composition, that both must have a considerable influence, the one upon the other; and having herein intimated what our first parents now became, it is obvious, that, *as* was *the tree*, such must be *the branches*; that, henceforth, there would be no natural descendant from these now mortals, who would not have in him a sensuality of nature,[o] such as must render it very reasonable, not only to *a master in Israel*,[p] but to any one who duly estimates the composition of man, to admit what our Saviour argued, namely, that we must be *born again*, if

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[l] Ipsi animi, magni est, quali in corpore, locati sint—Tanta vis est ad habitum mentis in iis, quæ gignuntur in corpore. Cic. in Tusc. Disputat. lib. 1. c. 33.

[m] See 1 Peter iii. 4. [n] See Romans viii. 21.

φαμεν δε τουτο, ἀληθες· μυρίας μεν γαρ ημιν ἀσχολίας παρεχει το σωμα——εμποδίζουσιν ημων τὴν τοῦ ὀνΘ· θηραν· ἐρωτωντε καὶ ἐπιθυμιων καὶ φοβων καὶ εἰδωλων παντοδαπων, καὶ φλυαριας εμπίμπλησιν ημας πολλης· ωςε το λεγομενον ὡς ἀληθως τῳ ὀντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐδὲ φρονησαι ἡμιν εγγίγνεται ὐδεποτε ὐδεν. Plato, ubi sup.

[o] The Thirty-nine Articles: see Art. ix.

[p] See John iii. 10.

we would *see the kingdom of God.*[q] Our first parents now came to have, and their descendants to be born to, that duplicity of nature elegantly described by Plato,[r] as well as considered by St. Paul.[s] Mankind came now to have inclinations arising from the body; which would often run contrary to the better sense of the mind; and give every one the unhappiness to know of himself in looking back upon his life, that he had done, thought and said, so many things below what his own mind and sentiments would tell him ought and might have been his conduct,[t] as to see in himself as clearly as in a glass, that we greatly want to be delivered from a *body of sin.*[u] In this point, therefore, reason and revelation agree, and bear testimony to one another; that we are,

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[q] See John iii. 3.

[r] διπλης δὲ ουσης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φυσεως, το κρεῖττον ἐκ γενοῦς τοιουτοῦ, ὅ καὶ ἐπειτα κεκλησοιτο ἀνηρ· ὁποτε δη σωμασιν ἐμφυτευθεῖεν, ἐξ ἀναγκης καὶ το μεν προσοιοι, το δὲ ἀπιοι τοῦ σωματος ἄυτων, πρωτον μεν αισθησιν ἀναγκαιον εκ μιας πασιν ἐκεῖ βιαιων παθηματων ξυμφυτον γιγνεσθαι· δευτερον δὲ ηδονη καὶ λυπη μεμιγμενον ερωτα· προς δὲ τυτοις φοβον καὶ θυμον, οσα τε ἑπομενα ἀυτοις καὶ οποσα εναυτιως πεφυκε διεγωτα· ων οἱ μεν κρατησειαν, ἐν δικη βιωσοιντο, κρατηθειῖες δὲ ἀδικια. Plato in Timæo.

[s] Rom. vii. 23.

[t] 1 Kings viii. 46. James iii. 2. 1 John i. 8.

Ἄυταρ ἀνηρ ἀγαθος, τοτε μεν κακος, αλλοτε δ' ἐσθλος.

γενεσθαι μεν ανδρα ἀγαθὸν χαλεπον ἀληθεως, ὁιον τε μεν τοι ἐπὶ γε χρονον τινα· γενομενον δὲ διομενειν, ἐν ταυτη τη ηξει, καὶ εἶναι ἀγαθον ——ἀδυνατον καὶ ὐκ ἀνθρωπειον, ἀλλὰ θεος ἀν μοι· τοῦτο εχοι τε γερας. Plat. in Protag.

[u] See Rom. vii. 24.

in fact, imperfect, not only in our knowledge, but still more imperfect, in oftentimes having a will not to act so well as we know it to be our duty. The history of Moses proceeds to shew this in the actions of men; particularly, that before Adam came to be a hundred and thirty years old, evil had got such an ascendant, where it had been indulged,[x] that one of Adam's children became a murderer and slew his brother.[y]

But Moses mentions one particular more, which I have not considered. He tells us, *unto Adam also, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them.*[z] I would observe, 1. That the word which we render *skins*, is in the singular number, *a skin*,[a] not *skins*, in the plural; and that we have no reason, from the Hebrew text, to put in the particle *of*. The verse verbally translated is, *and the Lord God made a skin coat for the man and his wife, and clothed them.*[b] The fact was; God now appointed them to use the skin of a beast

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[x] Cain, undoubtedly, did not come at once to that outrageous wickedness of killing his brother. He had been a bad man before in many evil actions; which Moses hints in what he records of God expostulating with Cain, Gen. iv. 7. and the apostle further observes it in John iii. 12. *Cain——slew his brother; and wherefore slew he him? because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.*

[y] Gen. iv. [z] Gen. iii. 21. [a] עור Pellis.

[b] The Hebrew words of the text are

ויעש	יהוה	אלהים	לאדם	ולאשתו	כתנת	
Tunicas	et	Mulieri	ejus	Adamo	Deus	Dominus et fecit
עור	הלבשם					
et amicivit eos.	Pellem					

for clothing, not, I apprehend, manufactured into coats; improvements of this sort, undoubtedly, were afterwards introduced. Our first parents did no more than put about them the skin of some beast, as we read the early inhabitants of other countries, and in later ages of the world, did,[c] whenever they wanted such a clothing. 2. Although the verse we are now treating stands prior to God's putting Adam and Eve out of the garden, and the end of the verse says, that God *clothed them*; yet I do not conceive that Moses here hints that God instantly clothed them and sent them into the world. The Hebrew word, *veyalbasham, and clothed them*,[d] is the future tense, with *vau* prefixed; which prefix, the grammarians observe, turns such future tense into a perfect, or to speak the thing treated of as being actually done. I may observe, that all the verbs used in this and the verses following, *he made coats*; *clothed them*; *sent them forth*; *drove out the man*; are thus in the future tense with *vau*.[e] May we not understand the reason of the piece of grammar just above hinted? Some ancient writers imagine, that our first parents were permitted to stay some little time in the garden before they were put out of it into the world;[f] may not these future tenses,

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[c] ——κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενεσιν ἀνθρωπων——ανθρωπους ταις δὲ δοραις των θηριων σκηπαστηριοις χρησθαι. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. p. 14.

——————— uti
Pellibus, et corpus spoliis vestire ferarum. Lucret. lib. 5.

[d] וילבשם [e] ויעש——ויאמר——וישלחהו——ויגרש

[f] ἐξεῤῥιφησαν τῆς παραδεισου, ως φησι, μετὰ τεσσαρακοντα πεντε ημερας τῆς παραβασεως. Syncel. p. 8.

with the *vau* prefixed, hint something of this sort? The clothing them, the sending them out of the garden, &c. were things absolutely and actually done; but some process of time, to instruct and prepare them for it, might be taken up, before it was completed; and may not the future tenses, with *vau* prefixed, hint this? The things spoken of had their execution; but not instantly at once; but proceeded gradually to be effected, as God thought fit to have them dispatched. If we may take them in this sense, we shall easily find an answer, 3. to what is or may be queried upon the occasion; how should our first parents get possession of the skins of beasts, and make them fit for the uses they were to make of them? I answer; I apprehend, God at this time appointed sacrifices;[g] and if so, as he afterwards gave Moses directions for the passover, and for other institutions of the Jewish law;[h] so he now might give our first parents such instructions as they must have wanted, and which might suggest all they wanted to know upon the occasion now before them. However, I must remark, in general, that we consider things with a judgment dull and unobserving, if we can allow the mind of man no invention, but as we can trace and mark out the steps which lead to it. How Tubal Cain came to find out brass and iron, and the ways of working them; or how Jubal became[i] a master of music, is not to be investigated in this manner. Our minds are too lively to be accounted for, by such stated deductions.

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[g] See Connect. vol. i. b. ii. [h] See Exod. xii. &c.
[i] Gen. iv.

Incidental sentiments often stir in us, we know not whence nor how; and lead us frequently to consequences as unexpected. They open to us trials and experiments, which produce what we had no thought of, even whilst we were pursuing them; and many times, before we are aware, throw us upon what we had no intention or even notion of seeking. The best heathen writers were ready to acknowledge that the rise of the useful and important inventions of their lives[k] had been from God; and we can never reason about these things, but we shall find it the best philosophy, as well as religion, not only to acknowledge *every good and perfect gift*,[l] in all our endowments, as having *come down from* HIM, *in whom we live, move, and have our being*,"[m]

——παντη δὶ Διος κεχρημεθα παντες. ARATUS.

But, He also, whose *incorruptible spirit is in all things*,[n] is often the author of many happy turns of our mind, which lead us in what we are apt to call fortunate thoughts, unto great and useful discoveries; which, if we had been without Him *in the world*, might never have been made or conceived by us. But, 4. I cannot apprehend that our first parents had been so unthinking, that common sense would not have led them, after a very little experience of their now condition, both to know it decent to have, and to invent a covering for themselves. What they did, when their fears alarmed them to wish to hide themselves from God,[o]

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[k] Plato in Polit.
[l] James i. 17.
[m] Acts xvii. 28.
[n] Wisdom xii. 1.
[o] Gen. iii. 7.

may suggest, what they naturally would have done, to be clothed in the sight of one another. Wreaths of greens, foliages, and flowers, might have been variously combined to make them ornamental habits; and we may indulge our imagination in saying, that even Solomon in all his glory might not be arrayed, beyond what Eve, after a little trial and experience, might be able to decorate herself in these. The climate likewise wherein they lived might perhaps be such, that a clothing of this nature might be sometimes more agreeable, than to be always in a closer and warmer covering. But if it be considered, how soon leaves and flowers would fade away; that a dress of long endurance could not be had from these materials; and that the labour and other cares of their lives would not admit them to lay out all their time in this one particular; not to say, that a covering of this sort might not serve in all weathers, but at some seasons, at least, a better shelter must have been a happy and necessary accommodation; leaving our first parents to add any ornament they should like, as circumstances might admit; the provision which God was pleased to make for them was such, that we cannot see how they could continue to live long without it.

I have now carried this undertaking to the utmost extent which I proposed to give it. It contains, I think, an account of all that Moses has related of the Creation and Fall of Man. It will perhaps be asked, did God only clothe them? Was his care such as to provide for them in this lesser, and did he not instruct them in greater and more important matters? I answer, undoubtedly he did; and, I apprehend, that both Moses

suggested, and subsequent scriptures confirm it, that God gave them a method for repentance and obtaining pardon of their sins; and, some time before Adam died, set before them hopes of another world. But to proceed in treating of these, would be to begin a new subject. All I proposed herein, was to examine what Moses has said concerning the Creation and Fall, and what possible objections may be made to his narration. I think I have omitted none of any moment; for of some which are pretended, surely, consistently with the greatest candour, we may say, that they need not be mentioned, being too frivolous to want an answer. One, at least, of this kind I find in Dr. Burnet; who asks, "What if Adam had not sinned? could all his descendants have come from all parts of the world, in all ages, to eat of the one tree of life, planted in the garden of Eden? or could this one tree have been sufficient for all times, and for all nations?"[p] It is most obvious, 1. That, supposing Adam had persevered to live according to the word of God, until he should have been commanded to eat of the tree of life, we cannot say whether, as now in Adam all have died, in such case, all mankind descended of immortal parents would not have been immortal. Or, 2. It must be evident,

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[p] Prætereà, si ex unâ arbore, vel ipsius fructu, perpendisset longævitas vel immortalitas hominum, quid si non peccasset Adamus? Quî potuissent ipsius posteri per totum terrarum orbem diffusi, fructus repetere ex hoc horto, vel ab hâc arbore? aut quî potuisset sufficere toti humano generi unius arboris proventus? Archæol. p. 292.

that as God knew before-hand, what events would happen in all things; it is undeniable, that he might foresee, when, and how long it would be before our first parents would transgress; and that the appointments he had made would be sufficient for what would be the duration of that state of mankind for which they were appointed. 3. That if mankind had not fallen, but proceeded to walk with God according to his laws, until they had become so instructed in all knowledge, and rooted in all truth, as never to swerve from it; if the partaking of some sign of immortality had been thought fit to be commanded for them, in using it to *walk humbly with* God,[q] not arrogating immortality to themselves as their own; but receiving it, as it was, indeed, his gift; as we have considered, that the tree of life had no innate virtue in itself to give life,[r] but could be of moment only, as it was the commandment of God; so God might, as men multiplied and dispersed, have at sundry times, and in divers manners, given other commands, other signs for this purpose, as necessary and beneficial, just as he should be pleased by his word to appoint, according to what he saw most fit for distant and different parts of the world, in the counsel of his own will.

I am aware that some may treat it as a topic of ridicule, to imagine that God made man so weak a creature as to want his Creator at every turn an admonisher at his elbow.[s] But we may readily reply, that to dress a

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[q] Micah vi. 6. [r] Vide quæ sup.

[s] Dr. Middleton's Enquiry, p. 102.

proposition in ludicrous terms, and then laugh at it, is laughing at the dress we give it; but does not really affect what ought not to be treated with so fanciful a levity. To consider rationally the order and gradation of God's works, will, I think, abundantly shew us, that man ought to be,[t] as fact and experience agree to testify that he really is, a creature higher than, and above the blinder instinct of animal life. But to say hereupon, that man was made so perfect, as to want no guidance but his own, is a step at once to a height of wisdom, which may be many ranks above us in the intellectual world.[u] That there is a prodigious difference between the abilities of even different men, is most apparent; and it is most evidently reasonable, that it should be so; that in the progressive order of each rank of being above that which is beneath it, some should descend almost to the species of those next below them, as others may, on the other hand, be raised to a near approach unto the orb above them. There may be; there ought to be; and there are, some men, such, that it were to be wished they never would act without an admonisher at their elbow. But, on the contrary, to say of the most intelligent of men, of those who have the most exalted human understanding, that

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[t] See above, chap. vi.

[u] Quartus autem gradus, et altissimus est, eorum qui naturâ boni sapientesque gignuntur; quibus a principio innascitur ratio recta, constansque, quæ supra hominem putanda est, Deoque tribuenda. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. c. 13.

they have a self-sufficiency of wisdom, above all want of superior direction, is

—— to think beyond mankind; POPE.

it is to think ourselves possessed of powers, which are beyond that line, which is our boundary; our nature does not reach to this height:

Our reason raise o'er instinct as you can;
In this 'tis God directs; in that, but man. POPE.

In our degree we have real perfections both of body and mind; the body has its eye, the mind its understanding; both which are of excellent use and direction: but to say of either, that they are so perfect as not in any point to want aid, or assistance, is insupportable and absurd. The eye of the body is able, in many cases, intuitively

—— curvo dignoscere rectum—— HOR.

to distinguish a straight line from a crooked; but shall we say of any man, that he has so sharp and unerring a sight, (however some may excel others in this particular,) as to be able, without line, rule, or measure, by his eye alone, to raise a various fabric, just, straight, upright and regular in all true dimensions? It is the same with the understanding, the eye of the mind: we may be able, by our reason, to deduce and judge aright of many moral duties; but if we say of the best human reason, that it ever did, without any rule but its own direction, raise the true fabric of all moral vir-

tue;[x] we must produce something to warrant such assertion, beyond what either the ancient enquirers, or our modern reasoners, have been able to evince. The wisest masters of the Greek learning, could not fix the criterion by which they might know what was only human sentiment, and what more surely was real truth.[y] The Roman philosophy was as indeterminate; the *quid est virtus*—the very *exemplar honesti*, was what they were not able indisputably to ascertain.[z] They wanted some test, whereby they might settle, how to distinguish in the several duties of life, wherein reason and right-reason might happen to differ from one another.[a] And it is as

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[x] Ut sine ullo errore dijudicare possimus, siquando cum illo, quod honestum intelligimus, pugnare id videbitur, quod appellamus utile, formula quædam constituenda est, quam si sequemur in comparatione rerum, ab officio nunquam recedemus. Cic. de Offic. lib. 3. c. 4.

[y] ει μεν νους καὶ δοξα αληθης ιτον δυο γενη. Plato in Timæo. φαμεν ἀνθρωπους δοξαζειν μηποτε μεν ἀληθη, ποτε δὲ καὶ ψευδη. Plat. in Thæatet.

[z] Sentit domus uniuscujusque, sentit forum, sentit curia, campi, socii, provinciæ, ut quemadmodum ratione, rectè fiat, sic ratione peccetur. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 27. The author of the Book of Wisdom suggests the difference. We may *reason, but not aright*. Wisdom ii. 1.

[a] The test wanted is, by what shall we know when we reason aright, and when not? A Deo, says the disputant in Tully, rationem habemus, bonam aut non bonam a nobis. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. We want a standard whereby to judge when we make our reason the one, and when the other.

remarkable of all our modern moralists,[b] that, however they shew a great want of precision, of determinate and indisputable direction each in one another's rule or standard, they are every one at last exactly as deficient in their own.[c]

The word of God is truth;[d] which was to have been the rule of truth in all moral and religious duty, to our first parents and to their descendants: And a good understanding would have prevailed amongst them, if they had carefully acted according to its direction.[e] Through the precepts of God, as they more and more improved in knowledge, they would have seen the error of every false way; and in time have been able to delineate the true religion of our nature according to it. But although God gave them his instructions, we must not represent, that he was minutely at their elbow, to leave them in nothing to themselves, in reason to consider things; for Moses in no wise describes them in this manner. God gave our first parents one command to be a rule for them, how they were to *walk humbly with* him.[f] He gave them one more to be the foundation of their relative duty to one another;[g] and he afterwards gave like precepts in other particulars. If now they

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[b] Mr. Brown, in his very excellent Essay on the Motives to Virtue, rightly observes, that our modern moralists have said little more than what might be transcribed from the old Greek Philosophers, and from Tully, after them, p. 122.

[c] See Mr. Brown's Essay.

[d] Psal. cxix. 142. John xvii. 17.

[e] Psal. cxi. 10. cxix. 104.

[f] Micah vi. 6. Gen. ii. 17.

[g] Ver. 24.

had made these their faith; to receive and believe them, and to square their lives according to them; herein they would have had an abundant direction, and would not have erred, if they would not vary and decline from it. To have added knowledge to their faith, as the incidents arose, which might afford them instruction, would have been their reasonable duty, as it is ours;[h] and a great field for them herein to exercise themselves must have opened daily unto them. For we cannot suppose that they were so insensible, as to think nothing to be their duty, but barely to observe literally the points commanded them, and no more. They were to see, and would see every thing to be wrong, which would make their lives run counter to the intention of what was directed. The being forbidden to eat of one particular tree, enjoined our first parents not only to abstain from the fruit of a tree;[i] but in every thing, whenever and whereinsoever God commanded, they were to obey his voice; as the being obliged never to separate from one another,[k] must shew that it was their duty to consi-

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[h] 2 Peter i. 5.

[i] Were we to conceive that our first parents could have imagined, that if they but abstained from eating of the tree, they duly observed the law of God, though in other points they did not live according to the directions of their Maker; it is evident, that they would herein have kept only the form of their religion, without admitting its power and influence. But nothing can be more contrary to reason than this, or more severely reprimanded in the holy scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament.

[k] Gen. ii. 24.

der, and be rationally such in their conduct, as to live suitably to this indissoluble tie; that what God had made the indispensable condition, they should for themselves make the real happiness of their life. Thus it can in no wise be said, that revelation hath superseded reason; but that from the beginning it hath been no more than the necessary aid, without which human nature could not be made perfect. It was given to be *a lamp to* our *feet*, and a *light to* our *paths*; to give us what, in Tully's language, we might say are the formulæ,[1] to mark to us the points, which, if we had been made creatures of a higher intellect, we might have intuitively seen for ourselves, in looking into the nature of things. But, if they had not been given to such creatures as we are; if we had nothing to direct our judgment, but the fruits of the tree of our own knowledge of good and evil; we should, not only from the present bias of our appetites, but from (what man was subject to from the beginning) mistakes of understanding, not have found or pursued, so as to be such as we ought, in this world; or be able justly to satisfy ourselves, how we might be meet for a better.

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[1] Jura, formulæ de omnibus rebus constitutæ, nequis aut in genere injuriæ, aut in ratione actionis errare possit. Cic. Orat. pro Q. Roscio Comœdo.

A Supplement to the preceding Dissertation.

THOUGH the preceding hypothesis of Dr. Shuckford, concerning *The Creation and Fall of Man*, is supported with considerable ingenuity and learning; yet it is so very discordant from generally received and long established opinions, that there is some reason to fear that most readers will hesitate to receive it, as having its foundation in reason and truth.

To represent man, when just coming from the hand of his all perfect Creator, as little better than the most uncultivated savage; knowing little or nothing of his being and its end, and having almost every thing to learn from the slow progress of experience; ill accords with the opinions of almost all religious people, on the original state and perfection of man.

Foreseeing that these particulars of the author's Creed will give but little satisfaction to many; the Editor begs leave to close the preceding Dissertation with the following extract of a Discourse by the learned Vitringa on the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Observ. Sacr. tome ii. lib. iv. c. 12.

On the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.

THE Passages on which the present enquiry is founded, are in the second chapter of Genesis, ver. 9, 17. Out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food: the tree of life also in the midst of the garden; and *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*—and the Lord God com-

manded the man, saying—of *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.*

We propose to shew why this tree was denominated, *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*; and what was the design of prohibiting the use of it to our first parents.

The current opinion, respecting the *first* of these points, is, that the tree received its denomination from the *event*; because our first parents having fallen in consequence of eating of its fruit, knew, by experience, the good which they had lost, and the evil which they had incurred.

This interpretation, though patronized by great names, and maintained by able pens, labours under insuperable difficulty: and that, whether we suppose the tree to have been so called by God himself *before* the issue, or by Moses *after* it. The difficulties are these:

1. The Hebrew phrase, דעת טוב ורע, *i. e.* 'knowledge of good and evil,' cannot well bear such a construction. 'To know good and evil,' in the style of the scripture, is to understand the nature of good and evil, of right and wrong; and judging accurately concerning them, to choose the one, and shun the other. In this lies the force of the tempter's argument to the woman, 'ye shall be as God, כאלהים, *knowing good and evil.*' God cannot know evil by *experience*; and the devil was not such a fool as to think of *seducing* our parents by assuring them that *misery* would be the reward of compliance. So afterwards, in that pathetic lamentation, not sarcastic jeer, over the poor apostates: 'Behold the man, (who) *was* היה as one of us: to know

good and evil."[a] Here man is said to have known good and evil *before* his fall. *After* it, he knew evil by experience, but not good; and his faculty of judging correctly concerning both, was woefully perverted. He knew good and evil, *as God knows them*: not by experiment surely, but by a clear perception of their natures; for it is thus only that God can know evil; and as it is absurd and blasphemous to imagine, that man, by plunging himself into sin, could become like God; his knowledge of good and evil must have been possessed in the state of innocence, and consequently could not consist in the *experience* of both.

If any doubt remain, as to the scriptural use of the phrase, it will probably be removed by a passage in Deuteronomy, chap. i. 39. 'Your little ones, which ye said should be a prey; and your children, which in that day had *no knowledge between*' (or of) '*good and evil*, they shall go in thither.' Little children do actually experience good and evil; but they have no *discriminating acquaintance with the nature of either*; they can form no *judgment* on the subject, so as to *choose* the one and *refuse* the other. Such being the sense of the expression, to 'know good and evil,' it is evident, that the tree in question was not denominated from its reference to the Fall of Man.

2. If we now repair to the *fact*, we shall strengthen our interpretation.

It is not true, then, that man, fallen from his state of

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[a] Gen. iii. 22. Vide Boston, Tractatus Stigmologicus, p. 30, 31.

integrity and blessedness into a state of sin and misery, did or could, by *such* experience, know *good*. With *evil*, indeed, he acquired a practical acquaintance, as he had previously known it only in theory. But how he should learn *good*, from being thrust headlong into the depths of *calamity*, being both excluded and alienated, by sin, from the love and fellowship of God, and from all real joy, is most inconceivable! 'By contrast,' you will say, 'his misery taught him the value of the good which he had forfeited.' Certainly. But this solution supposes that he did not know good when he was in full possession of it: and it is inconsistent with the idea of experience. For to learn a thing by experience, implies the *presence of the thing when the experiment is made*. But the good was now gone, and therefore could not be a subject of experience.

Let us go on to ask, what end was to be gained by naming the tree from the event? Did the most high God design to reveal to man, by such an anticipation, his approaching crime and wretchedness? But how does it accord with the divine wisdom to appoint a tree as the test of his obedience, and to proclaim, in the very appellation of the tree, his future disobedience, and its dire effects? Shall we say, that he did not *understand* the meaning of the appellation? With what view was it bestowed, then? To the Creator it was of no use; for *man's* sake it must have been given. But how for man's sake, if its *sense* was withheld from him? Will it be said, on the other hand, that the name was not annexed to the tree, till man had discovered, by his fall, the relation which it bore to his condition and prospects? But still, what benefit could accrue from his learning,

when his probation was over, that his state had been prefigured by the name of the tree?

It appears, then, that the tree was not denominated from the event; and that the 'knowledge of good and evil,' is not such a knowledge as arises from experience.

We must look for something more satisfactory.

To know good and evil, does in truth denote that faculty of judgment by which a rational being distinguishes good from evil, choosing the former and rejecting the latter: that which Paul styles, διακρισιν καλου τε και κακου[b] the *discerning* between good and evil. Assuming this, as having been proved before, there are only two reasons for the denomination of the tree. Either it was endued with some *physical* virtue of sharpening the powers of man in discriminating between good and evil; or it was placed in paradise, not as a *physical*, but *moral*, cause of that knowledge, warning him to avoid *death*, and the source of death, which were figured by that tree; and to cleave to *life*, the opposite of death.

The first of these, although it has amused some speculative minds, is hardly tenable. For it is not easy to see why the Creator should forbid the use of a tree to which he had imparted the quality of perfecting man's faculty of judging; nor how, upon this supposition, he could be free from the imputation of *tempting* his creature to sin, by the very means which he had selected as a criterion of duty: nor, finally, how the taste of a tree possessing such singular virtue, should have produced,

[b] Heb. v. 14.

in our beguiled parents, an effect the reverse of its own qualities! For, if it had the intrinsic charm of enlarging their knowledge and improving their faculties, then the short way to perfection would have been sinning against God! These things it surpasses all the limits of sobriety to affirm: and our conclusion necessarily is, that the tree of 'the knowledge of good and evil,' was so called, because, from the divine institution, it was a *moral cause* of that knowledge; *i. e.* it was a visible, familiar, and permanent lesson, by which man was not *only* admonished of the eternal distinction between good and evil; but was put upon his guard as to the quarter from which alone evil could assail him. This will receive additional light from the

Second part of our enquiry, which relates to the design of *prohibiting the use* of the tree to our first parents.

Regarding that modesty which ought to limit our researches into the divine plans, and obeying the general dictates of scripture and reason, we may perceive that the prohibition answered the threefold purpose of trial, of instruction, and of a sacramental pledge.

That man should love and obey God, would spontaneously demonstrate itself to his pure conscience and his sound intelligence. But in that first age of his being, there could hardly exist an occasion of proving his obedience and love, without the intervention of a *positive* precept. Transgression of those commandments, which afterwards were written on the two tables of the moral law, was either physically or morally impossible. And yet it was in itself fit, and for the ends of moral government indispensable, that man's devotedness to

his God should be brought, even in his best estate, to some direct and effectual test. All the orders of rational beings of whom the scriptures give any account, were subjected, at their creation, to probationary law. But in what manner a state of probation could exist with a positive precept, is inconceivable. Nothing else could afford an opportunity of evincing submission to the divine authority; because nothing else could present to *holy creatures* a case of collision between their will and the will of their God. It is doubtful whether, without some such prohibition as that relating to the forbidden tree, the devil, sapient as he was, could have rendered a temptation to sin intelligible to our first parents. For, as nothing else was required of them but what their own pure nature led them instinctively to do, they could have no sense of *restraint*. In every thing else, the will of God coincided with their own propensities: so that throughout the whole range of their gratifications, there was not to be found either the occasion or the matter of trespass. Some positive statute, therefore, which might controul their will in a given instance, was requisite to produce and preserve in their minds the sense of their dependence upon God, and his authority over them, without which his *moral government* could have no place. The very fact of their being under moral government, seems to have demanded some positive test of their loyalty: as the very fact of their being rational creatures, supposes them to have been subjects of such a government. The contrary supposition is mere atheism. The propriety, therefore, of a positive test of their obedience, resulted from their accountable nature. And the more

simple this test was in itself, and the more easy the duty which it prescribed; the more conspicuously was the benignity of their God revealed, and the more inexcusable was their own rebellion. What simpler test could they have chosen, than abstinence from a particular tree, however 'good for food and pleasant to the eyes?' What duty could be of easier performance; seeing it did not intrench upon a single enjoyment; as they were surrounded with similar enjoyments; the Lord God having made 'to grow, *every* tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food?' What could be more condescending on his part, than the appointment of so delightful a probation? And what more wanton, more thankless, or more provoking, on theirs, than the violation of its terms?

Disobedience under such circumstances, was of an aggravated sort: but it will appear still more flagrant, from the consideration, that this very tree, whose touch was death, was fraught with salutary instruction. Placed in the midst of the garden, and often meeting the eyes of our first parents, it could hardly fail to teach them such truths as these:

That God is the Lord of all things; and, consequently, that man's dominion was neither absolute nor independent---that in the enjoyment of God alone, is the satisfying good of man---that in judging of good and evil, man is not to be directed by his own reason or pleasure, but by the revealed will of God---that man had not yet arrived at his highest happiness; but was bound to expect and desire a more perfect state; yet in that *way* alone which God had appointed---that if he would escape death, he must avoid the cause of it; *i. e.*

sin, or the breaking out of his desires beyond those limits which God had assigned to them. How much further the unclouded mind of the first man might have carried his reflections on the forbidden tree; to what sublime conceptions of the divine nature, and works, and providence, it might have led him, we, in our shattered state, with our discordant affections and obscure lights, are poorly qualified to judge. Yet, disabled as we are, by the Fall, from taking such rapid, capacious, and elevating views of whatever is fair, and good, and magnificent in the creature, and the Creator, as were competent to a sinless being, we can discern enough to persuade us, that the tree of knowledge of good and evil must have been, to innocent man, a rich source of intellectual improvement and moral joy.

The third use of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, was that of a sacramental pledge.

Our first parents were placed not only under the general obligations of moral law, but under a peculiar moral constitution, which the sovereign goodness of God superadded to their condition as accountable creatures. This constitution is ordinarily termed, *the covenant of works;* by which, in the event of their adhering to the terms of their probation, the divine faithfulness was engaged to confer on themselves and on their posterity, an immortality of bliss. But, in the event of their failure, that same faithfulness was engaged to subject them and their progeny to the penalty of the law. It will be perceived, that punishment, upon the commission of sin, was a matter of course. For that a creature should rise up in rebellion against the Creator, and suffer no inconvenience on account of his crime, is a

contradiction, if not in words, yet certainly in things. Whereas the promise of eternal life was purely gratuitous; no creature having a right to demand more than this, that so long as he continues obedient, he shall not be miserable. Nor can any good reason be assigned, why the most high God, if it so pleased him, may not create rational beings for a temporary existence only, and, when his purposes are fulfilled, remand them back again to nothing. The promise, therefore, of eternal life, converted the law of obedience into a pacific covenant, of which the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, were the two sacraments; the former being a visible document of God's faithfulness to his promise, and the latter a visible document of his faithfulness to his threatening. And thus the assurance of life or death being exhibited to our first parents, by sensible signs, they were constantly admonished of the interest staked in their hands, and of the infinitely happy or horrible issue of their probationary state.[c]

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[c] See The Christian's Magazine; New York, 1807, p. 67.

THE END.

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